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IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY


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MILDRED THRONE

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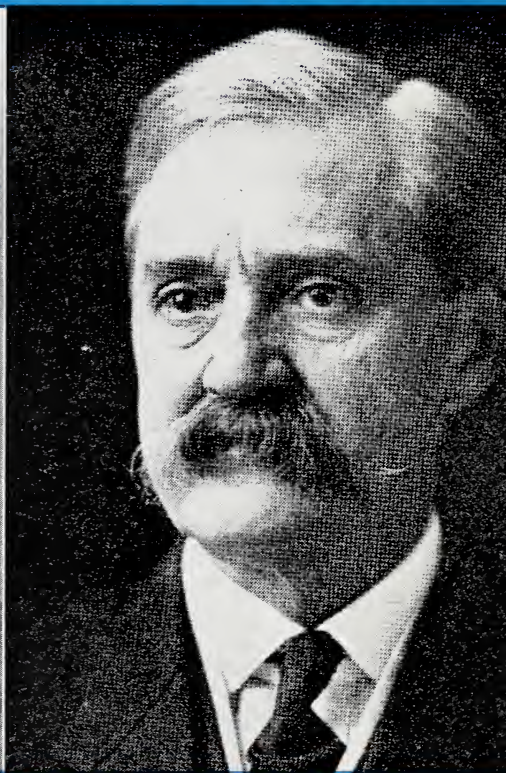
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JANUARY 1959

No 1

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COVER

TWO FAMOUS IOWA GOVERNORS

Left: Samuel J. Kirkwood (1860-1864; 1876-1877).

Right: Albert Baird Cummins (1902-1908).

THE ELECTION OF 1859 IN IOWA

*By Morton M. Rosenberg**

The Iowa election of 1859 was the most significant and bitterly contested electoral conflict fought in the state during the years prior to the Civil War. The results would be of immense importance to both the Democratic and Republican parties. The major state offices, as well as the seats in the state legislature, were to be filled in the election. Control of the General Assembly meant control of the senatorial election, for the new legislature would select a United States Senator. Excluded from major political office since 1855, the Democrats prepared to wage a strenuous campaign to regain the posts they had once held. With the presidential election merely a year away, the Republicans, of course, desired to maintain their power in the state in order to have a stronger voice at their national convention in 1860.

Having occupied the important political offices in Iowa for almost half a decade, the Republicans had somewhat of an advantage over the Democrats in the coming campaign, for they controlled the patronage, affording the party trusted workers in all the counties. Still, several weaknesses burdened the Republicans. In the first place, being a relatively new political organization in the state, the party possessed, aside from ex-Governor James W. Grimes, Iowa's Senator-elect, no popular, tested vote-getter. Secondly, the party lacked a spectacular issue with which to arouse excitement and stimulate the voters. The outcries over events in Kansas had lost much of their former effectiveness, while outbursts against slavery were commonplace.¹ Thirdly, and perhaps most significantly, all was not completely harmonious within the ranks of the Republican party. William Penn Clarke, fiery abolitionist and unsuccessful in his candidacy for the Republican senatorial nomination, was at odds with several of the leading Republicans, including such stalwarts as James W. Grimes and Samuel J. Kirkwood, Grimes's choice for the governorship in 1859. Grimes, indeed, cautioned Kirkwood

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¹ David S. Sparks, "The Birth of the Republican Party in Iowa, 1848 to 1860" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1951), 198-200.

that Clarke intended to "stir up all the strife that may be possible."² Finally, some of the party's legislative enactments had not been entirely popular. The prohibition law, especially, barely ratified in 1855, produced much resentment. Indeed, antiprohibition forces had won recent concessions to permit the retailing of native beer and wine.³

Meantime, the schism in the Democratic party did not appear to be permanent. Facing an uphill struggle in the approaching election, the Buchanan and Douglas wings of the party sought to terminate their quarrel. Henry Clay Dean, dynamic minister-orator of the party, implored George W. Jones, outgoing United States Senator from Iowa, to make his peace with the Douglas faction for the good of the entire organization. Jones agreeably pledged "to support heartily . . . the nominees of our party whether my personal friends shall be of the number or not."⁴ The *Anamosa Gazette*, a Buchanan organ, reprinted an editorial from the *Davenport Democrat* which urged Democratic harmony:

The coming fall election is one of the most important that ever took place since Iowa has been a State, and it is of the greatest importance to *all* Democrats that there should be a perfect harmony of feeling and a unity of action in all matters which pertain either to the nominations or to the convention. One thing is sure; if there is any factious feelings introduced into the State Convention, all our hopes of carrying *any* portion of the election in October will come to nought.⁵

Individual defections, nevertheless, did continue to plague the Iowa Democracy from time to time. Of more than minor consequence was the departure of Enoch W. Eastman from the party. A former state Democratic chairman, Eastman had been mentioned as a possible candidate in the

² James W. Grimes to Samuel J. Kirkwood, Apr. 28, 1859, *Samuel J. Kirkwood Correspondence* (Iowa State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines); William Penn Clarke to Ralph P. Lowe, May 17, 1859, *William Penn Clarke Letterbook* (State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City).

³ Cyrenus Cole, *Iowa Through the Years* (Iowa City, 1940), 268; Frank I. Herriott, "The Germans in the Gubernatorial Campaign of Iowa in 1859," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter: Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, 14:495-6 (1914).

⁴ Henry Clay Dean to George W. Jones, Feb. 2, 1859; copy of letter from Jones to Dean, Feb. 12, 1859, *George W. Jones Correspondence* (Iowa State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines).

⁵ *Anamosa Gazette*, Apr. 22, 1859.

fall elections. He left the party because of the slavery issue: specifically he deplored the extension of slavery into the territories and the agitation to acquire Cuba. "One by one," gloated a Republican editor, "the old veterans are jumping from the leaky old Democratic ship and seeking a safe voyage under the steamer of Republicanism."⁶

In March, 1859, an event in distant New England bolstered Democratic electoral prospects in Iowa. The Republican-controlled legislature of Massachusetts approved an amendment to the state's constitution which required all naturalized citizens to reside in the state for an additional two years after their naturalization in order to become eligible to exercise the franchise there. Undoubtedly the amendment was directed against the Irish immigrants who were swarming into the Bay State.⁷

When the public learned about the Massachusetts bill, no group in Iowa denounced the measure more strongly than the Germans who feared that the Republicans of Iowa might some day follow the example of Massachusetts. Republican leaders were well aware of German hostility to the Massachusetts "Two Years" amendment. Shortly after the publication of the amendment, the Republican State Central Committee, almost in anticipation of a German protest, adopted resolutions which condemned the action of Massachusetts as "an unjust and offensive discrimination between citizens on account of their birth," expressed the fear that the foundations upon which the Republican party had been formed might be undermined, and called upon the people of Massachusetts to reject the proposed amendment.⁸

Gradually, almost imperceptibly, the Germans had been deserting the Democracy in some numbers since 1854. In that year James W. Grimes had lured many Germans from the Democratic fold on the basis of his anti-Nebraska appeal. The desire for free homesteads and internal improvements may also have induced many Germans to support Grimes. In 1856 there had been another exodus of German voters from the Democratic ranks. The Republicans, to be sure, did not want to see the Germans return to their former political allegiance.⁹

⁶ *Albia Weekly Republican*, Feb. 9, Mar. 16, 1859.

⁷ *Ibid.*, June 1, 1859; *Anamosa Gazette*, Mar. 25, 1859; *Iowa City Weekly Republican*, Apr. 6, 1859.

⁸ *Albia Weekly Republican*, May 4, 1859.

⁹ Morton M. Rosenberg, "The Democratic Party of Iowa, 1850-1860" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1957), 160, 232-5.

The resolutions of the Republican State Central Committee did not wholly eradicate German suspicions regarding the state Republican party. Nicholas J. Rusch, a prominent German-born citizen of Davenport, a state senator, and member of the Republican State Central Committee, informed Samuel J. Kirkwood that a large number of Germans were incensed at the Republican organization. Rusch emphasized that Massachusetts had passed the amendment despite a plank in the national Republican platform which specifically condemned discrimination between Americans on account of place of birth. "Of what use or weight is a national party platform," queried Rusch, "if the party in the several states do not feel themselves bound by it, but think themselves justified to violate the same whenever they choose?" For his own part, Rusch insisted, he still possessed confidence in the party, but many Germans had lost theirs. Several German-language papers, he warned, were anxiously concerned about the matter. Indeed, one German-language journal, a paper in Muscatine with a large circulation there and in neighboring counties, had already defected to the Democrats as a result of the Massachusetts amendment.¹⁰

German anxiety was further underscored when an influential group of Germans addressed a letter to the Iowa congressional delegation and demanded direct and immediate answers to three questions:

Are you in favor of the naturalization laws as they now stand and particularly against all and every extension of the probation time?

Do you regard it as a duty of the Republican party as the party of equal rights to oppose and war upon each and every discrimination that may be attempted to be made between native born and adopted citizens as to the right of suffrage?

Do you condemn the late action of the Republicans in the Massachusetts Legislature for attempting to exclude the adopted citizens for two years from the ballot box as unjust and uncalled for?¹¹

Senator James W. Grimes was the first of Iowa's Congressmen to reply to the Germans. Writing from Burlington on April 30, 1859, Grimes unhesitatingly responded in the affirmative to all of the questions. Concerning the third query, he added:

¹⁰ Nicholas J. Rusch to Kirkwood, Apr. 20, 1859, *Kirkwood Correspondence*.

¹¹ *Albia Weekly Republican*, May 18, 1859.

While I admit that the regulation sought to be adopted is purely of a local character, with which we of Iowa have nothing whatsoever *directly* to do, and whilst I would be one of the last men in the world to interfere in the local affairs of a sovereign state upon local matters, yet I claim the right to approve or condemn, as my judgment may indicate, such State or party action, when in my conviction it is based upon a false and dangerous principle. I believe the action of the Massachusetts legislature alluded to to be fraught [*sic*] with evil and only evil continually to the whole country and not to Massachusetts alone.¹²

Not so concise and unequivocal was Senator James Harlan's reply to the Germans. His was a lengthy letter in which he discussed the various facets of the controversy in detail and avoided outright commitment. He summed up by affirming that "I am compelled as a Republican to say in reply to your first interrogatory that I am not an advocate for any material change in the naturalization laws; to the second, I do not approve any discrimination whatever against the rights of naturalized citizens; to the third, I would not, if I were a citizen of Massachusetts, advocate the adoption of the proposed amendment to the constitution."¹³

Harlan's vacillation may partially be explained on the ground that he was in a rather delicate position politically. Since he would be a candidate for re-election to the Senate in 1860, he did not desire to antagonize those Republicans who were not especially friendly to the Germans, prohibition supporters and former Know-Nothings, for example. Furthermore, Harlan himself may not have been genuinely opposed to the Massachusetts amendment. Only three years earlier he had viewed the influx of foreigners into Iowa with deep concern.¹⁴

After delaying about a month, Representative Samuel R. Curtis ultimately answered the Germans' queries. Curtis declared that he opposed an extension of the probation period as well as the naturalization laws as they then existed. He agreed that the Republican party should controvert all attempts to discriminate between native and naturalized citizens in order to perpetuate the "fundamental principles of the founders of our Republic

¹² Reprinted in *ibid.*

¹³ Frank I. Herriott, "The Germans of Iowa and the 'Two-Year' Amendment of Massachusetts," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter: Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, 13:244 (1913).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 239-40; James Harlan to William Penn Clarke, Dec. 1, 1856, *William Penn Clarke Correspondence* (Iowa State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines).

who made their platform wide enough for all the world." Finally, he unconditionally condemned the action of the Massachusetts General Assembly.¹⁵

Meanwhile, W. W. Hamilton, who aspired to be Iowa's next lieutenant governor, informed Samuel Kirkwood that the Massachusetts amendment had disturbed the easily excitable Germans in his region of the state. Hamilton pointed out that Democratic criticism of the Republican action in the Bay State was making a deep impression upon the German mind. He continued further:

The Germans in Winneshiek, Allamakee, Clayton, Dubuque, etc. are just now like a hive of bees just swarmed — very threatening to outsiders. The Masstts. resolutions are very inopportune for us. And in fact we cannot endorse any such policy as they are based upon. . . . See the constant appeals to them on this point in the *Herald* and other Democratic papers. They look upon an attack upon their naturalization rights as a revival of Know-Nothingism; and they will bolt any ticket in a moment that squints at that. I commend this to your serious consideration. I have just left some influential Germans after a long talk; and am sure of the truth of what I say.¹⁶

While the Democrats assailed the Massachusetts amendment as an "insult," a "disgrace," and as "treacherous,"¹⁷ Republicans labored to refute these epithets. One Republican editor even blamed the Democrats for the passage of the amendment. Although admitting that Republicans controlled the Massachusetts legislature, he insisted that "there was but a slim turnout at the election, yet we are satisfied that the majority was not all Republicans. The Democrats, thinking they could see an opportunity for making political capital, have heralded it from one part of the world to the other, but it falls upon their own heads, and their capital they find is all pure counterfeit."¹⁸

Another Republican paper accused the Democrats of placing restrictions upon naturalized Americans long before Massachusetts took similar action. Democrats hotly denied the accusation and insisted that, although South

¹⁵ Printed in *Albia Weekly Republican*, May 25, 1859.

¹⁶ W. W. Hamilton to Kirkwood, Apr. 29, May 17, 1859, *Kirkwood Correspondence*.

¹⁷ Anamosa *Gazette*, Mar. 25, 1859.

¹⁸ *Albia Weekly Republican*, June 1, 1859.

Carolina had enacted a discriminatory law back in 1784, the measure had long since been repealed.¹⁹

Republicans would have found it extremely difficult to explain or to justify the Massachusetts law had not a blunder by the national Democratic administration turned the tide of criticism from them. On May 17 the Democratic Secretary of State, Lewis Cass, wrote a letter to Felix LeClerc of Memphis, Tennessee. Cass told LeClerc that "It is understood that the French government claims military service from all nationals of France who may be found within its jurisdiction. Your naturalization in this country will not exempt you from that claim if you should voluntarily repair thither."²⁰ Many persons undoubtedly had come to the United States expressly to avoid military service in their homelands. The obvious implication to be drawn from Cass's letter was that the American government would not protect any naturalized citizen who voluntarily returned to his place of birth for a visit.

Alarmed, perhaps, by the storm of protest which he had unleashed, Cass elaborated a month later in a published communication to a Mr. Hofer of Cincinnati. The Secretary of State explained that according to an agreement reached between the United States and Prussia, naturalized citizens who returned to their homelands were "not liable to any duties or penalties, except such as were existing at the period of their emigration. If at that time they were in the army or actually called into it, such emigration and naturalization do no exempt them from the legal penalty which they incurred by their desertion, but this penalty may be enforced against them whenever they voluntarily place themselves within the local jurisdiction of their native country."²¹

Legal explications, however, could not satisfy irate Iowans. The Cass letter was condemned by all sides, by native and naturalized citizens, by Republicans and Democrats.²² The *Dubuque Express and Herald*, an anti-administration Democratic paper, denounced the letter as "anti-national, anti-American, and entirely anti-Democratic." The *Times* of Dubuque, a

¹⁹ *West Union Fayette County Public Review*, Aug. 11, 1859; *Des Moines State Journal*, June 11, 1859.

²⁰ Printed in *Dubuque Express and Herald* and quoted in *Iowa City Weekly Republican*, June 22, 1859.

²¹ Printed in *Des Moines State Journal*, July 2, 1859.

²² Herriott, "The Germans of Iowa and the 'Two-Year' Amendment of Massachusetts," 270, 271.

Republican journal, declared that "no political party, whatever might have been its professions, ever made so odious a distinction between native and foreign-born citizens as made in Cass' communication."²³ The Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, another Republican organ, charged that Cass was a tool of the South and had written his letter at the behest of that section: "It is the interest of the South to discourage immigration [*sic*] from Europe, but to open the African slave trade. The Democratic party is the slave of the South and proud to do its bidding; hence, General Cass, speaking for the government, has informed naturalized citizens, in effect, that when they voluntarily sail from our shores, they must take care of themselves."²⁴

Republican condemnation of the Cass letters was more effective politically than the Democratic criticism of the Massachusetts amendment. Cass's letters embodied an official pronouncement of national policy, but the Massachusetts amendment was merely the act of a single state and not binding upon the other states. Although Republicans faced a difficult campaign in the coming election in Iowa, their prospects for success began to brighten considerably, thanks to Lewis Cass.

In the midst of the excitement generated by the Massachusetts amendment and the Cass letters, the contending parties began to lay plans for their state conventions. Announcements of candidates came thick and fast. Among the Democrats one man received the earliest consideration and the strongest support for the gubernatorial office — Augustus Caesar Dodge. A former United States Senator, Dodge was terminating four years' service as American envoy to Spain. A tested vote-getter and sympathetic to the Douglasites, he was popular with both wings of the Iowa Democracy, his service in Spain having removed him from the intramural squabbles of his party. As early as January 15, 1859, his name was mentioned for the gubernatorial nomination. Henry Clay Dean told Senator George W. Jones that if Dodge "will be a candidate he will have my hearty support for that or any other office." Dean believed that "Gen. Dodge will unite all the elements of the party for success."²⁵ But Dodge refused, at least so early in the year, to declare himself as a candidate for governor. He confided to

²³ Quoted in Iowa City *Weekly Republican*, June 22, 1859.

²⁴ Quoted in Herriott, "The Germans of Iowa and the 'Two-Year' Amendment of Massachusetts," 272.

²⁵ Henry Clay Dean to Jones, Jan. 15, Feb. 2, 1859, *Jones Correspondence*.

Bernhard Henn, former Democratic Congressman from Iowa's First Congressional District, that he would not seek the position because of "want of time and on account of the ill health of Mrs. Dodge."²⁶ Neither would Senator Jones, whose term of office expired in March, consent to be a candidate. Despite the urging of many friends, Jones informed Dean that he would not permit his name to be offered in nomination for any state office.²⁷

With Dodge ostensibly out of the running, and Jones definitely eliminated, several prominent Democratic stalwarts became gubernatorial possibilities. These included such men as Bernhard Henn, Ver Planck Van Antwerp, William E. Leffingwell, George Gillaspay, Maturin L. Fisher, Gilbert C. R. Mitchell, and the Rev. Henry Clay Dean. The last-named drew Republican fire for mingling religion and politics.²⁸

Competition among Democrats for their party's nomination for lieutenant governor was also sharp. Most prominently mentioned for the post were Lysander W. Babbitt, James Baker, John F. Duncombe, James D. Test, D. H. Solomon, J. M. Ellwood, and H. Dunlavy.²⁹

The pre-convention rivalry for the three vacancies on the state supreme court was likewise keen among Democrats. The Fort Madison *Plain Dealer*, however, sagely counseled the party to select its judicial candidates with extreme care, for "no man should be nominated for Supreme Judge unless he is a good lawyer in the broadest sense of the term." Moreover, added the *Plain Dealer*, "mere party consideration should be laid aside and the very best jurists in the party nominated." Among the aspirants for the state supreme court were Joseph C. Knapp, Charles Mason, Thomas S. Wilson, Jonathan C. Hall, C. C. Cole, Curtis Bates, P. M. Casady, and H. B. Hendershott.³⁰

Nor did the Republicans experience a shortage of office seekers. Although Republican leaders knew that the incumbent, Governor Ralph P. Lowe, desired a second term, they were of the opinion that he lacked the colorful, dynamic type of personality which would be necessary for success against

²⁶ Bernhard Henn to Laurel Summers, May 5, 1859, *Laurel Summers Correspondence* (Iowa State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines).

²⁷ Copy of letter from Jones to Dean, Feb. 12, 1859, *Jones Correspondence*.

²⁸ Louis Pelzer, *Augustus Caesar Dodge* (Iowa City, 1908), 236; *Anamosa Gazette*, June 17, 1859.

²⁹ *Des Moines State Journal*, June 18, 1859.

³⁰ Quoted in *Anamosa Gazette*, Apr. 29, 1859; *Iowa City Weekly Republican*, Apr. 27, 1859.

A. C. Dodge, whom most expected to be the Democratic standard-bearer despite his earlier disavowal.³¹ In April, W. W. Hamilton informed Samuel J. Kirkwood of the growing feeling among Republican leaders against a second term for Lowe. "He is said to be a very good man," wrote Hamilton, "but a man may be too good and too soft." John Bittman, a prominent German-born editor from Dubuque, confirmed Hamilton's opinion of Lowe. Bittman told Kirkwood that "Lowe has proven rather weak and lame without any energy whatever, aside of his deficiency as a leader and organizer." John A. Kasson, Kirkwood's successor as Republican State Central Committee chairman, suggested that Lowe might accept a nomination to the supreme court as compensation for losing the governorship.³²

Kirkwood, supported by Senator Grimes, was seriously seeking the Republican gubernatorial plum. He wrote to Republican leaders throughout the state, asking for their views concerning his possible candidacy. Most replies were favorable. Among his backers, in addition to the powerful Grimes, were W. W. Hamilton, John A. Kasson, John Edwards, and Nicholas Rusch. If Lowe could be induced to withdraw publicly from the race, Kirkwood would have a clear road to his goal.³³

When Oran Faville declined to be a candidate for lieutenant governor again, John Edwards and W. W. Hamilton eagerly offered themselves for the post. Party chairman John Kasson indicated that he would gladly accept either aspirant for the office.³⁴ But with the German voters thoroughly aroused by the Massachusetts amendment, a movement developed to place a German-born citizen on the Republican ticket, preferably in the number two slot. The Davenport *Gazette* urged Rusch's nomination for the post of lieutenant governor. Rusch, however, questioned whether he should accept any such nomination since his "broken English and little experience are not proper qualifications for an office of that nature."³⁵ Other Republicans

³¹ Cyrenus Cole, *A History of the People of Iowa* (Cedar Rapids, 1921), 320-21.

³² W. W. Hamilton (Apr. 12), John Bittman (May 22), John A. Kasson (May 1), 1859, to Kirkwood, *Kirkwood Correspondence*.

³³ Des Moines *Citizen*, quoted in *Albia Weekly Republican*, Apr. 27, 1859; Alvin Saunders (Apr. 27), W. W. Hamilton (Apr. 13), John Edwards (May 1), 1859, to Kirkwood, *Kirkwood Correspondence*.

³⁴ *Albia Weekly Republican*, May 18, 1859; *Iowa City Weekly Republican*, May 4, 1859; W. W. Hamilton (Apr. 13), John A. Kasson (May 1), 1859, to Kirkwood, *Kirkwood Correspondence*.

³⁵ Anamosa *Eureka*, June 17, 1859; Rusch to Kirkwood, Apr. 20, 1859, *Kirkwood Correspondence*.

mentioned as prospects for the office included Josiah B. Grinnell, Charles Pomeroy, and Enoch Eastman.³⁶

Numerous Republicans sought a seat on the state supreme court after Chief Justice George C. Wright had declined another term, thus making his position available. Cited as possibilities for the high court were William Penn Clarke, John A. Kasson, C. C. Nourse, L. D. Stockton, William Smyth, and Samuel Miller.³⁷

The Republican state convention opened its sessions on June 22, 1859, one day before the scheduled meeting of the Democrats.³⁸ After settling the routine business of organization, the convention began the task of selecting the party's nominees amid unsolicited advice from friendly journals to choose men who possessed the highest principles of liberty. Governor Lowe sent word to the delegates of his intention to decline another nomination to the position he held; this news must have relieved the pro-Kirkwood delegates. Immediately, Samuel J. Kirkwood of Iowa City received the gubernatorial nomination by acclamation. He had come a long way since his arrival in Iowa. Born in Maryland, he moved to Ohio, where he taught school and later studied law. Journeying to Iowa City in 1853, he worked successfully as a farmer, miller, and merchant. A former Democrat, he had taken part in the formation of the Iowa Republican party in 1856. In that year, too, he had been sent to the state senate.³⁹

The selection of the remainder of the Republican ticket proceeded without difficulty. On the first formal ballot, Nicholas J. Rusch received 225 votes to defeat John Edwards and W. W. Hamilton and secure the nomination for lieutenant governor. For the judicial posts the convention picked Ralph P. Lowe, Caleb Baldwin, and L. D. Stockton.⁴⁰

The Republican state platform reaffirmed the principles of the national

³⁶ *Iowa City Weekly Republican*, May 4, 1859; *Des Moines State Journal*, June 18, 1859.

³⁷ *Albia Weekly Republican*, May 18, 25, 1859.

³⁸ Prior to the opening of the Republican state convention, the *Albia Weekly Republican* cautioned party leaders to "consider everything that is likely to work against the success of the Republican party. The north part of the State claims, and justly, that they never had a man chosen to fill an office of any note, while the Southeastern part has received all of the offices of public trust." May 18, 1859.

³⁹ *Iowa City Weekly Republican*, June 20, 1859; Cole, *History of the People of Iowa*, 321-2.

⁴⁰ *Iowa City Weekly Republican*, June 29, 1859; *Albia Weekly Republican*, June 29, 1859.

party platform of 1856 and assailed the Democratic administration for extravagance. Other planks condemned the Democrats for refusing to prohibit slavery in the territories, asked for a liberal naturalization law, opposed the revival of the African slave trade, and recommended the enactment of homestead legislation. In addition, the Republicans demanded protection for American citizens at home and abroad regardless of place of birth or duration of residence in the United States. Concerning other local matters, the party advocated economy in state government and reform in county administration.⁴¹

Generally, the Republican press endorsed the party platform and nominees. The Council Bluffs *Nonpareil* praised the platform as a "broad and manly exposition of the cardinal points in the Republican faith." The Davenport *Gazette* expressed pleasure with Rusch's nomination because he was "one of the most talented and zealous Republicans in the State." The *Iowa Weekly Republican* lauded Rusch as "an elegant and grammatical public speaker" despite his inability "to pronounce the *th*."⁴²

But Rusch's nomination was unsatisfactory to some Republicans. The *Weekly Visitor*, Republican organ in Indianola, ridiculed Rusch's speech and commented that it was "strange that such a man as John Edwards should be rejected by an intelligent convention and Rusch taken in his place."⁴³ W. W. Hamilton, unhappy at his lack of success at the convention, complained to Charles Aldrich, editor of the Webster City *Hamilton Freeman*, that the Republicans had erred in selecting Rusch and in ignoring "the very existence of the northern half of the state. . . . It remains to be seen whether it is good policy not only thus to ignore us, but to place a Dutchman who cannot speak our language . . . to preside over the Senate."⁴⁴ Instead of adding strength to the Republican ticket, Rusch's nomination may well have driven a wedge into the party.

James A. Williamson, Democratic state chairman, had originally scheduled his party's convention to meet in Des Moines on June 1, three weeks sooner than the Republican assembly. Other Democrats, however, requested

⁴¹ Printed in Anamosa *Eureka*, July 1, 1859.

⁴² Various papers quoted in Albia *Weekly Republican*, July 14, 21, Sept. 22, 1859; Iowa City *Weekly Republican*, Sept. 21, 1859.

⁴³ Cole, *History of the People of Iowa*, 323-4; Herriott, "Germans in the Gubernatorial Campaign of Iowa in 1859," 457.

⁴⁴ W. W. Hamilton to Charles Aldrich, June 29, 1859, *Kirkwood Correspondence*.

a postponement and persuaded Williamson to reschedule the convention for June 23. One Republican journal immediately accused the Democrats of deliberately delaying their meeting until the results of the Republican meeting could be known.⁴⁵

The Democratic gubernatorial nominee surprised few Iowans. Augustus C. Dodge changed his decision against running for office and secured his party's nomination for governor by acclamation. Lysander W. Babbitt, editor of the Council Bluffs *Bugle*, won a first-ballot victory to become Dodge's running-mate. To seek the judicial vacancies on Iowa's high court, the convention selected Thomas S. Wilson, Charles Mason, and C. C. Cole.⁴⁶

The Democratic platform was a lengthy document divided into national and state sections.⁴⁷ On the national level the party reaffirmed the Cincinnati Platform and the doctrine of nonintervention in the internal affairs of states. Insisting that the territories were entitled to self-government, the party reiterated the principles of popular sovereignty. Other planks recommended low, equitably administered tariffs, affirmed that both native and naturalized citizens possessed the same rights and deserved to receive the same protection from the federal government regardless of place of residence, favored the acquisition of Cuba, requested passage of a homestead law, and disavowed responsibility for decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

Concerning state matters, the Democrats called for the termination of the increases in state taxation and expenditures, opposed the immigration of free Negroes into Iowa, and assailed the end of segregation in the public schools of the state. Indeed, the party demanded an overhaul of the entire structure of the public school system. Other planks condemned the Maine Liquor Law and the Massachusetts amendment.

Conspicuously absent from the Democratic platform was any endorsement of the Buchanan administration, attesting to the Douglasite strength in the convention. The Davenport *News* later explained that an endorse-

⁴⁵ Des Moines *State Journal*, Mar. 19, Apr. 9, 1859; Iowa City *Weekly Republican*, Feb. 23, Apr. 13, 1859; Anamosa *Gazette*, Mar. 11, 1859.

⁴⁶ Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1903), 4:9; Anamosa *Gazette*, July 1, 1859.

⁴⁷ Herbert S. Fairall, *Manual of Iowa Politics* (Iowa City, 1884), 31-6.

ment of Buchanan "might distract the party." Another Democrat, however, regretted that "the convention did not endorse the Administration. I have never seen a timid course of conduct win in politics."⁴⁸ The *Chicago Times* nonetheless confidently predicted a Democratic victory in Iowa.⁴⁹

Differences between the platforms of the contending parties were numerous. The Republican document neglected to mention prohibition, tariffs, and the school system, while the Democracy was silent on the question of county government. On the issue of slavery the parties were, of course, poles apart. The Republicans seemed reluctant to mention certain state topics that would arouse controversy, but the Democrats did not hesitate to raise them. Their criticism of the prohibitory act, for example, would stir antitemperance groups in the state, while their condemnation of integration in the public schools would touch the anti-Negro prejudices of Iowans.

Bitter vituperation characterized the editorials of the party presses as the organs of the contending parties reviewed and assailed the platform and the candidates of their rivals. *Life in the West* considered the Democratic platform to be of poor quality, commenting that the "Iowa Democracy are hard up for political capital." The Burlington *Hawk-Eye* accused the Democrats of stealing the Republican platform. The Iowa City *Iowa Weekly Republican* ridiculed the Democratic standard-bearer: "The politics of our opponents are indeed very *dodgy* just at present and seem to require a *Dodge* for a candidate."⁵⁰ Lysander W. Babbitt had to defend himself against charges of Mormonism. And the Keokuk *Gate City* accused him of misappropriating \$15,000 while serving as Register of the Land Office at Council Bluffs.⁵¹

Nor was the Democratic press remiss in hurling derogatory epithets and scurrilous remarks at the Republicans. The *Plain Dealer* of Fort Madison labeled Kirkwood a "dog fennel, polk weed, and stramonias politician." The Council Bluffs *Bugle* questioned Kirkwood's fitness for the gubernatorial office. The *Express and Herald* of Dubuque derided Rusch's nomination as

⁴⁸ Quoted in *Albia Weekly Republican*, May 4, 1859; James A. Buchanan to Laurel Summers, June 28, 1859, *Summers Correspondence*.

⁴⁹ Quoted in *Anamosa Gazette*, July 15, 1859.

⁵⁰ *Iowa City Weekly Republican*, Apr. 13, Aug. 3, 1859; *Albia Weekly Republican*, July 28, Aug. 4, 1859.

⁵¹ *Des Moines State Journal*, July 30, 1859; *Iowa City Weekly Republican*, July 20, 1859.

but "a bait thrown out to catch the German vote." Furthermore, declared that journal, the Republicans had no intention of supporting Rusch's candidacy, for "that which was intolerant Iowa Know-Nothingism four short years ago is now known by the more specious title of Republicanism."⁵²

When the Democratic Bloomfield *Clarion* sneeringly christened the Republican nominees the "Plow Handle Ticket," it unwittingly set the tenor of the Republican campaign approach. Several Republican papers immediately published the names of the Republican candidates under a cut of a plow, while others began to contrast the simple, homespun appearance of Samuel Kirkwood with the well-groomed, dignified, seemingly haughty demeanor of A. C. Dodge.⁵³

The state central committees of both parties mapped out extensive speaking tours for their principal candidates. Kirkwood and Rusch launched the Republican campaign at an informal ratification meeting in Davenport on July 8. Two weeks later Kirkwood inaugurated his formal speaking tour of Iowa at Muscatine. He intended to remain on the stump until October 8, traversing the length and breadth of the state.⁵⁴ Aware that Rusch might be the weak man on their ticket, Republican leaders advised Kirkwood to praise him whenever possible. John Kasson urged Kirkwood "to allude to Rusch's fine education, interest in agriculture, and earnest support of a law to secure the purity of the ballot box," and James Grimes agreed that Kirkwood should put "in a good word for Rusch" wherever he spoke.⁵⁵ Moreover, Republican leaders determined to keep Rusch out of the southern tier of counties adjacent to the Missouri border, the scene of strong Know-Nothing sentiment three years earlier, lest he injure his ticket. "Should he mingle with the people south of the Des Moines [River]," warned one party leader, "he will do our whole ticket an essential injury." Indeed, Grimes anticipated the loss of votes in southern Iowa owing to Rusch's presence on the ticket, but expected the gains in the north to compensate for the south.⁵⁶

⁵² Quoted in *Anamosa Gazette*, Aug. 26, 1859.

⁵³ Pelzer, *Dodge*, 242; *Davenport Gazette*, quoted in *Albia Weekly Republican*, Aug. 18, 25, 1859.

⁵⁴ *Iowa City Weekly Republican*, July 13, 27, 1859; *Albia Weekly Republican*, July 28, 1859.

⁵⁵ John A. Kasson (July 18), James W. Grimes (July 14), 1859, to Kirkwood, *Kirkwood Correspondence*.

⁵⁶ William M. Stone (June 27), James W. Grimes (July 29), 1859, to Kirkwood, *ibid.*

In addition to Kirkwood and Rusch, other men spoke in behalf of the Republican ticket. Grenville M. Dodge, Frank W. Palmer, and William B. Allison, all destined to be leading Republican figures after the Civil War, won their political spurs in the 1859 election. Senator Harlan, well aware of the importance of the campaign for his own ambitions, also toured Iowa in support of the Republican candidates.⁵⁷

The Iowa Democracy, too, determined to make a thorough canvass of the state, but the Republicans gained an early advantage owing to Dodge's failure to return to Iowa until July 9. The Democratic State Central Committee prepared an exhaustive speaking schedule for Dodge and arranged for other men to stump the state for the party. Ben M. Samuels, D. H. Solomon, D. O. Finch, C. C. Cole, and Henry Clay Dean, among others, worked long and hard for their ticket.⁵⁸

Democrats also sought to induce national party personalities to tour Iowa in behalf of the state ticket. A group of Democrats journeyed to Chicago in September to invite Senator Stephen A. Douglas to speak in several cities throughout the state. They were unsuccessful, however, in their mission.⁵⁹

Popular features of the Democratic campaign were barbecues, which became the occasions for campaign oratory as well as gala festivities. Several barbecues were held in September to climax the Democratic campaign. The barbecue at Des Moines on September 23 was a particularly grand affair featuring beef, pork, mutton, wheat and corn bread, and "chicken fixins." One participant wrote that he "had a most glorious time. . . . General Dodge was here and made one of his finest effort [sic]. There was [sic] more than four thousand people present. We had a procession more than one mile long. I have never seen the like in Iowa."⁶⁰

Since each party had planned extensive itineraries for its principal candidates, both party chairmen concluded an arrangement whereby Dodge and

⁵⁷ Edward Younger, *John A. Kasson: Politics and Diplomacy from Lincoln to McKinley* (Iowa City, 1955), 90; *Iowa City Weekly Republican*, July 27, 1859; William Vandever to Charles Aldrich, Oct. 24, 1859, *Kirkwood Correspondence*; Johnson Brigham, *James Harlan* (Iowa City, 1913), 130.

⁵⁸ Dan E. Clark, *Samuel Jordan Kirkwood* (Iowa City, 1917), 130; *Iowa City Weekly Republican*, Aug. 17, 1859; *Des Moines State Journal*, Aug. 13, Sept. 3, 1859.

⁵⁹ Robert Robinson to Laurel Summers, Sept. 22, 1859, *Summers Correspondence*.

⁶⁰ *Des Moines State Journal*, Sept. 3, 1859; Louis Pelzer, "History of Political Parties in Iowa, 1857-1860," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 7:209 (April, 1909); Isaac W. Griffith to Summers, Sept. 29, 1859, *Summers Correspondence*.

Kirkwood would engage one another in a series of debates. John Kasson actually had issued the Republican challenge to P. M. Casady, new Democratic chairman, as early as June 24, but Dodge's absence from Iowa prevented definite Democratic commitment. One month later, however, Casady notified Kasson that Dodge would inaugurate the joint tour with Kirkwood at Oskaloosa on July 29. Until their termination on September 17, the debates aroused keen interest throughout the state and were generally well attended.⁶¹

Judging from the party platforms, editorials, and reports of the debates, the main issues of the campaign centered upon nativism, state expenditures and taxation, Cuba and slavery. In the main, the Democrats sought to confine the campaign to issues of state interest, while the Republicans preferred to concentrate on topics of national importance.⁶²

The homestead issue apparently did not stimulate much discussion in the press. Perhaps Dodge's favorable homestead record while in the Senate tended to minimize Republican agitation on this score. Nevertheless, one historian of the election of 1859, Frank I. Herriott, believed that the homestead question was a vital factor influencing the Germans to remain within the Republican fold. The Germans identified the defeat of homestead legislation in Congress, according to Herriott, with the Democratic party.⁶³ In this connection, President Buchanan's efforts to obtain Cuba from Spain had disturbed some Iowans. Republicans endeavored to demonstrate that while the Democrats were quite willing to spend thirty million dollars to purchase another area of slavery, they continually refused to distribute land from the vast public domain free of cost to the poor farmers of the West. Dodge, who had supported attempts to acquire Cuba, came in for his share of animadversion on this issue.⁶⁴

From time to time the county judge system provoked discussion in the Iowa press. The Iowa Code of 1851 had abolished the old system of county

⁶¹ *Iowa City Weekly Republican*, Aug. 24, Sept. 14, 1859; Pelzer, *Dodge*, 240-41.

⁶² *Albia Weekly Republican*, Aug. 11, 1859; *Iowa City Weekly Republican*, Aug. 10, Sept. 7, 1859; *Anamosa Gazette*, Sept. 9, 1859; *Des Moines State Journal*, July 23, 1859.

⁶³ Herriott, "Germans of Iowa and the 'Two-Year' Amendment of Massachusetts," 257-8.

⁶⁴ *Iowa City Weekly Republican*, July 6, 1859; *Keosauqua Republican*, quoted in *ibid.*, Aug. 3, 1859; *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, quoted in *Webster City Hamilton Freeman*, Aug. 27, 1859.

commissioners and substituted the newly created office of county judge. This had the effect of lodging legislative, executive, and judicial functions in the hands of one individual. New Englanders and New Yorkers in Iowa disliked the county judge system by tradition and because, perhaps, it was a Southern institution.⁶⁵ Since the Democrats had been largely responsible for legislating the change in the system of county administration, the Republicans sought to capitalize on the increasing unpopularity of the new system. The *Nonpareil* of Council Bluffs reported that the county judge system was a failure in Polk and Pottawattamie counties. Because it established a petty despotism, the paper averred, the office of county judge should be abolished. The *Des Moines Citizen* agreed. "We are led to infer that the whole system is vitally objectionable," declared an editorial. "The great evil consists in the fact that one man is vested with absolute power. Each county is a petty kingdom, of which the judge is sole ruler."⁶⁶ James Grimes told Kirkwood that "we must abolish our present county system and give the people a chance to govern themselves a little more than they do under the county judge system."⁶⁷

Not all criticism of the system of county administration, however, emanated from Republican sources. Democrats, too, urged a modification or elimination of the county judge system. A Democratic convention of the Thirty-sixth Representative District, embracing Harrison, Guthrie, Audubon, and Shelby counties in west-central Iowa, adopted a resolution calling for "the repeal of the law creating the office of County Judge," and requesting "a thorough re-organization of the system of managing county affairs."⁶⁸

Republicans and Democrats also exchanged accusations concerning the expense of state administration. The *Iowa State Journal*, a Democratic paper in Des Moines, wanted to know what happened to about \$20,000 from a fund created to pay salaries to school commissioners. Other Demo-

⁶⁵ Sparks, "Birth of the Republican Party in Iowa, 1848 to 1860," 205-206; Webster City *Hamilton Freeman*, Mar. 11, 1859; Frank I. Herriott, "Whence Came the Pioneers of Iowa?" *Annals of Iowa* (3rd ser.), 7:462 (July, 1906).

⁶⁶ Quoted in Sidney *Fremont Herald*, Apr. 23, 1859.

⁶⁷ James W. Grimes to Kirkwood, Oct. 25, 1859, in William Salter (ed.), "Old Letters," *Annals of Iowa* (3rd ser.), 8:514 (October, 1908).

⁶⁸ *Des Moines State Journal*, Aug. 27, 1859.

cratic organs criticized the insane asylum, the blind asylum, the agricultural college, and the high salaries of public officials as needless extravagances. In addition, Democrats accused Republicans of exceeding the constitutional debt limit of \$250,000 by at least \$122,000.⁶⁹ Republicans countered by charging that various Democratic officials had enriched themselves with public funds. J. W. Cattell, Republican State Auditor, published a statement which purported to demonstrate that Democratic figures of Republican expenditures were incorrect and misleading. Instead of being in debt, the state, according to Cattell, actually had a surplus of \$15,000.⁷⁰

Five days before the election, the *Fayette County Public Review*, of West Union, cognizant of the vituperative bitterness engendered by the long and strenuous campaign, counseled Iowa voters to ignore the malicious mud-slinging of the canvass and to weigh carefully the merits of the issues involved before casting their ballots.⁷¹

On October 11 about 80 per cent of Iowa's eligible voters exercised their franchise privilege. The Republicans scored a close but sufficient triumph in all of the important contests. In the battle for the state legislature the Republicans won control of the House by sixteen votes and of the Senate by eight votes. A joint ballot would give the victorious Republicans a decisive margin of twenty-four votes, thus assuring the election of another Republican United States Senator from Iowa. The three Republican candidates for Iowa's supreme court defeated their Democratic opponents by margins of some 2,100 votes or more.⁷²

In the major contests Samuel J. Kirkwood and Nicholas J. Rusch edged Augustus C. Dodge and Lysander W. Babbitt by votes of 56,502 and 55,789 to 53,332 and 52,722, respectively. Kirkwood obtained 51.44 per cent of the total vote. All told, Kirkwood carried 58 counties and Dodge

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, May 10, Aug. 27, Sept. 14, 1859; *Anamosa Gazette*, Aug. 26, 1859; *Du-quaque Herald*, quoted in *ibid.*, Sept. 21, 1859; Pelzer, *Dodge*, 242-3.

⁷⁰ *Albia Weekly Republican*, Feb. 9, 1859; *Fairfield Ledger*, quoted in *ibid.*, Mar. 2, 1859; *Iowa City Weekly Republican*, Sept. 14, 1859.

⁷¹ *West Union Fayette County Public Review*, Oct. 6, 1859.

⁷² *Iowa City Weekly Republican*, Nov. 2, 1859. The election returns from which the percentage statistics were computed are on file in the office of the Secretary of State in the Capitol Building in Des Moines, and are entered in a ledger entitled *Election Records, 1848-1860*. A microfilm copy of these returns is on file at the library of the State University of Iowa in Iowa City.

took only 34. Three counties, Calhoun, Carroll, and Monona, produced ties.⁷³

As the party had done throughout the 1850's, the Democracy showed well in a cluster of counties about Dubuque in east-central Iowa: Dubuque, Delaware, and Jackson. Along the southern tier of counties immediately north of the Missouri state line and in west-central Iowa the Democrats also maintained their traditional strength. In the western sector of the state, however, the population was extremely sparse.

The factors which produced the Republican victory in 1859 are rather obscure. The antislavery, anti-Cuba arguments of the Republicans no doubt appealed to Iowans in the eastern counties, where abolitionism and Free Soilism were long centered. Sentiment against the county judge system was confined chiefly to western Iowa, but here both parties supported the elimination or modification of the system. The Democratic campaign against the end of segregation in the public schools may account for the party's strength in northeastern and west-central Iowa, where anti-Negro feeling may well have been stronger than antislavery emotions. In addition, the homestead issue may also have contributed to Democratic popularity in the western sector of the state. There the settlers, faced with the pressing problem of survival on the frontier, would be more responsive to homesteads and other forms of federal assistance than to appeals involving the slavery controversy. The Democratic party, to be sure, controlled the national administration. The importance of such other issues as state expenditures, internal improvements, and nativism to the final Republican victory cannot be precisely ascertained.

The value of Nicholas J. Rusch to the Republican party is difficult to assess on the basis of the existing evidence. Indeed, it cannot be conclusively demonstrated that the German vote was a significant factor in the Republican triumph. Kirkwood carried Clayton, Clinton, Iowa, Johnson, Muscatine, and Scott counties which contained sizeable German settlements. Nevertheless, he lost Des Moines, Dubuque, Jackson, and Lee counties to Dodge. Considerable numbers of Germans also lived in these latter counties.

The Republican victory in Iowa, although not overpowering, was nonetheless clearly substantial. Kirkwood had defeated the Democracy's ablest vote-getter, Augustus C. Dodge, who had infused new life into his party by

⁷³ *Election Records, 1848-1860.*

IOWA GUBERNATORIAL VOTE BY COUNTIES, 1859

<i>County</i>	<i>Kirkwood</i>	<i>Dodge</i>	<i>Rusch</i>	<i>Babbitt</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Kirkwood</i>	<i>Dodge</i>	<i>Rusch</i>	<i>Babbitt</i>
Adair	120	76	121	73	Jasper	946	705	927	701
Adams	177	123	176	119	Jefferson	1282	1199	1264	1198
Allamakee	743	1025	755	1008	Johnson	1602	1395	1544	1425
Appanoose	627	985	605	992	Jones	1161	1153	1156	1152
Audubon	58	60	56	62	Keokuk	1025	1043	1025	1042
Benton	914	732	899	732	Kossuth	75	37	76	36
Black Hawk	815	550	808	555	Lee	2159	2392	2108	2377
Boone	298	413	296	411	Linn	1771	1345	1749	1345
Bremer	417	438	416	438	Louisa	956	679	966	678
Buchanan	816	570	812	573	Lucas	521	457	510	460
Buena Vista	2	6	2	6	Madison	651	729	649	715
Butler	474	246	430	245	Mahaska	1212	1137	1214	1120
Calhoun	17	17	17	17	Marion	1256	1438	1240	1414
Carroll	30	30	30	30	Marshall	795	442	795	442
Cass	179	152	181	141	Mills	262	245	277	227
Cedar	1152	1002	1136	1016	Mitchell	516	204	516	204
Cerro Gordo	117	72	113	75	Monona	105	105	103	107
Cherokee	12	7	12	7	Monroe	749	665	746	658
Chickasaw	439	308	443	303	Montgomery	125	115	125	111
Clarke	462	351	462	351	Muscatine	1457	1364	1369	1354
Clay	3	9	3	9	Page	377	333	380	316
Clayton	1630	1429	1666	1280	Palo Alto	3	44	3	43
Clinton	1605	1521	1606	1503	Plymouth	24	11	28	8
Crawford	45	55	47	51	Pocahontas	16	17	15	18
Dallas	530	448	531	447	Polk	1078	1048	1075	1024
Davis	715	1142	603	1141	Pottawattamie	295	600	292	589
Decatur	390	771	381	772	Poweshiek	595	411	592	364
Delaware	844	894	842	892	Ringgold	260	135	259	136
Des Moines	1704	1923	1691	1869	Sac	28	37	28	37
Dickinson	31	15	30	15	Scott	2208	1625	2085	1617
Dubuque	1751	3153	1815	3081	Shelby	78	96	69	93
Emmett	18	5	18	5	Story	395	358	389	360
Fayette	1102	849	1102	845	Tama	600	295	590	290
Floyd	495	281	492	284	Taylor	304	257	307	230
Franklin	201	51	201	50	Union	151	193	149	193
Fremont	293	504	280	493	Van Buren	1397	1402	1364	1399
Greene	126	146	125	146	Wapello	1016	1260	1011	1248
Grundy	110	17	110	17	Warren	937	609	894	608
Guthrie	257	263	256	262	Washington	1208	946	1175	956
Hamilton	192	105	191	105	Wayne	416	535	400	534
Hancock	19	14	19	14	Webster	252	333	252	331
Hardin	645	458	644	459	Winnebago	11	24	11	24
Harrison	297	351	299	333	Winneshiek	1022	771	1025	765
Henry	1596	998	1582	994	Woodbury	132	163	134	158
Howard	336	279	336	278	Worth	98	26	98	26
Humboldt	49	29	49	29	Wright	80	52	78	52
Ida	4	3	4	3					
Iowa	765	549	757	544					
Jackson	1273	1477	1277	1463					
					TOTALS	56,502	53,332	55,789	52,722

uniting its warring Buchanan and Douglas factions. And the Republicans had captured the legislature and all of the important state offices. Credit for the results of the election must be given to John A. Kasson, James W. Grimes, and Samuel J. Kirkwood for their brilliant and meticulous organization of the entire campaign. Grimes and Kasson proved their superb adroitness as political leaders; Kirkwood demonstrated an uncommon amount of energy and ability as a stump orator. In an era when personalities counted heavily in an electoral contest, Kirkwood's simple homespun appearance and mannerisms, in a campaign cleverly managed and directed by Grimes and Kasson, had carried the day for his party.

THE BURLINGTON RAILROAD'S SWINE SANITATION TRAINS OF 1929:

A CASE STUDY IN AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

By C. Clyde Jones*

The Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, from its earliest existence, has displayed a keen interest in the agricultural affairs of its territory. It has always pursued a policy of "enlightened self-interest," by which it has promoted better farming in order to increase its business. Prosperous farm communities mean a prosperous railroad. The Burlington began a conscious program of aiding Iowa farmers in the late 1850's — a program which reached the highest level of intensity during the 1920's. The twenties was a decade of unprecedented prosperity for the most part, but the farm segment of the economy failed to share fully in that glory.

The Burlington Railroad, through its Agricultural Development Department, sought to improve the financial condition of its farm customers throughout the decade. The company employed a double-barreled policy designed to lower farm costs through greater efficiency and to promote greater economic stability through diversification. It launched an intensive program for Burlington Route farmers, highlighted by educational trains. Iowa and Nebraska residents became the target of a number of "specials," including a swine sanitation campaign in 1929.

Quite naturally, lagging pork prices became a matter of deep concern for Burlington officials in the late 1920's. Iowa and Nebraska farmers received a relatively high percentage of their income from the sale of hogs; if the railroad could bolster production and income for hog growers, freight business would accordingly increase. There was little likelihood that the federal government could or would take any constructive action in the 1920's, and individual farmers were certainly in no position to cut back production in order to raise prices. In the absence of a government control program, a practical solution to the pork price dilemma was a cost-reduction campaign.

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The Burlington's Agricultural Development Department turned its attention to such a program in 1927. Hog prices had ranged from \$11 to \$12 per cwt. in 1925 and 1926, but they sagged below \$10 in 1927 and 1928.¹

The Burlington based its swine campaign on a simple concept: help the farmer to reduce the number of brood sows necessary to produce a given number of marketable hogs. This would effect a reduction in the total cost of operation, yielding a higher net return on the farmers' outlay of capital and effort. A practical tool for carrying out the idea was a new system of swine sanitation called the McLean System.

The McLean System of swine raising originated in McLean County, Illinois, as a United States Department of Agriculture experiment. The system consisted of four basic concepts: (1) clean farrowing quarters for sows; (2) the cleaning of sows at farrowing time; (3) clean trucks or wagons for hauling young pigs to fresh pastures; and (4) a pasturing time of no less than four months.² The experiment in Illinois showed conclusively that sanitary methods of breeding, farrowing, and raising hogs could increase the number of pigs raised per litter and result in earlier maturing and higher quality animals. Costs would fall as the number of brood sows decreased; furthermore, the farmer would benefit from the early marketing of quality hogs, owing to the higher prices which generally prevailed in September.

The Burlington first announced its intention to operate a hog train in 1927. J. B. Lamson, the head of the company's Agricultural Development Department, told C. E. Spens, CB&Q vice-president, in February, 1927, that he was certain that the McLean System would prove profitable and popular as a demonstration in Burlington areas. During that same month, Val Kuska and H. L. Ford, Burlington agricultural agents at Omaha, talked with Professor Howard Gramlich of the University of Nebraska about the possibility of a swine train.³

Preoccupation with a sugar beet promotional effort caused the Burlington to delay temporarily its plans for the swine campaign. Then in October,

¹ U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945* (Washington, D. C., 1949), 101.

² Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, "Modern Methods of Hog Raising" (Denver, 1949).

³ Letters, Lamson to Spens, Feb. 7, 1927; Kuska to Lamson, Feb. 5, 1927; and Ford to Lamson, Feb. 7, 1927. These letters, and all correspondence and reports cited hereafter are from the files of Val Kuska, who upon his retirement in 1957 deposited his materials with the Nebraska State Historical Society at Lincoln.

1928, Kuska called Lamson's attention to the fact that there was still a demand for a hog train and that Professor Gramlich and his young assistant, O. O. Waggener, were both eager to help the Burlington draw up plans. Kuska expressed his confidence that no other work could do more for the Burlington and that a special train would boost the railroad's freight business and add to the company's good will. Company officials gave Lamson permission to proceed with definite plans in November.⁴ The following February, two years after first proposing the idea, J. B. Lamson invited W. H. Brokaw, Director of Extension, University of Nebraska, and Paul C. Taff, Assistant Director of Extension, Iowa State College, to a March meeting in Omaha to arrange a two-state campaign.⁵ During the following spring and summer, representatives of the railroad and the two colleges carefully planned every detail of the swine sanitation tours. A vital part of the planning was the preliminary tour over the proposed routes by Burlington agents.

Walter B. Remley, Burlington agricultural agent at St. Louis, headed the advance tour in Iowa. During the month of August, 1929, he conferred with businessmen and farmers in thirty-three southern Iowa communities. Val Kuska performed similar duties in sixty-three Nebraska towns. Each community had previously received a letter from the Burlington, asking cooperation in the advance work, outlining the plans for the "pork special," and giving a list of suggestions for stimulating interest in the train. These included shows, contests, displays, parades, picnics, barbecues, sales by local merchants, special advertising, speakers, and the sponsoring of "pig clubs" among the boys and girls of the community. Subsequently, the railroad released local newspaper stories, announcing that the local committee for the "pork special" had met with the official committee from the railroad and the university.⁶

Remley and Kuska required the local committees to sign contracts with the railroad to assure adequate community interest. By terms of the contract, the local committee agreed to furnish publicity and a supplementary program. The contract called for a "telephone broadcast" as a reminder to citizens and for advertising by local merchants. The railroad asked the

⁴ Kuska to Lamson, Oct. 23, 1928; Ford to Waggener, Nov. 23, 1928.

⁵ Lamson to Brokaw and Taff, Feb. 4, 1929.

⁶ Copy of schedule for advanced trip in Kuska files; letter, A. K. Hepperly to Ralph Douglas, Burwell, Nebr., Aug. 5, 1929 (similar letter sent to all local chairmen); copy of press release.

committee to discourage other public meetings which might interfere with the campaign. In the Nebraska contract, the local committees further promised to run a "slide ad" at motion picture shows and to have a band present on the day of the program. In return for these concessions, the railroad was to provide a train, complete with educational materials.⁷

Meanwhile, the work of preparing exhibits and fitting out the trains proceeded on schedule. Although the trains in Iowa and Nebraska were virtually the same, the names were different to make each tour more distinctive. The Iowa train, called the "Burlington Pig Crop Special," toured the southern counties of the state from September 16 to 27, 1929. The Nebraska train bore the alliterative title of "Profitable Pork Production Special."

For both trains, the Burlington selected the slogan, "Not More Hogs but More Profit from the Hog Crop," as the keynote of the campaign. The railroad feared the criticism which would result if its program increased over-all hog production and thereby led to still lower prices. To guard against such criticism, the company emphasized the point that fewer sows were needed to produce a given sized pig crop each year; the farmer would benefit, in that production costs would be much lower under sanitary methods. The exhibits on the "specials" supported this claim.⁸

The Iowa "Burlington Pig Crop Special" consisted of two coaches with exhibits, one flat car for exhibiting hog houses, one horse car for carrying live hogs, and a Pullman coach and cafe car for the tour personnel. The exhibit coaches contained displays on feeding and economy in hog raising and the elimination and control of disease. In the horse car were several sows, each of which had farrowed a litter of pigs. Half of those litters had been raised under the McLean System; the other half had been produced in old pens, according to usual standards, and had netted less than one-third as many pigs as the first group.⁹

The "Pig Crop Special" appealed to Iowans. The train made 33 stops in 29 counties; 47,694 persons, an average of 1,445 per stop, attended lectures and viewed exhibits. Attendance ranged from 3,630 at Hamburg (the last stop of the "Special") to 185 at Corydon. The local committees more than

⁷ Copies of contracts in Kuska files.

⁸ W. Remley to H. L. Ford, "Report of Burlington Pig Crop Special," October, 1929.

⁹ *Idem*; also H. L. Ford to J. C. Roth, Superintendent of Transportation, CB&Q, Aug. 3, 1929.

upheld their agreements to provide entertainment. Oskaloosa gave a barbecue; Danville offered free sandwiches and drinks; Stockport and Donnellson held hog-calling contests; other communities presented such attractions as boxing matches, baseball and football games, and free dinners.¹⁰

Visitors to the "Pig Crop Special" signed a guest register and received special literature on hog raising. The Burlington prepared an eight-page circular, entitled "The Burlington Pig Crop Special," to illustrate and set forth the ideas of the tour; the Iowa State College extension service made available its bulletin, "The Common Parasites of Hogs," as well as a set of plans for constructing movable hog houses. A special feature of the train was "Susie, the talking sow." Susie was an animated dummy, with a speaker mounted inside, who talked to the farmers about how hogs wanted to be treated.¹¹ As the train moved through southern Iowa, Susie became quite a favorite. The mechanical animal sat beside a miniature graveyard, where little pigs, which had died from various causes, lay buried. The sow mourned the loss of the pigs and explained that modern sanitary methods could have saved most of them. In one town a farmer went to see the sow but departed abruptly when Susie said, "Hello, Old Timer." The farmer muttered, "There's too many spooks in the world already without a darned sow talking at you."¹²

As with earlier Burlington educational trains, the impact of the tour reached the schoolrooms in many communities. Officials urged school children to visit the train at every stop. At Indianola, the city bank sponsored a school essay contest on the subject, "What I Learned at the Pig Crop Special."¹³

After the train completed its run in Iowa it went to Lincoln, Nebraska, and became the "Profitable Pork Production Special." The exhibits prepared at the Iowa State College were transferred to the Chicago & North Western Railroad for a tour through central and northern Iowa.¹⁴ The University of Nebraska prepared new exhibits to replace those left in Iowa. The make-up of the Nebraska train was virtually the same as that in Iowa,

¹⁰ Remley to Ford, "Report of Burlington Pig Crop Special."

¹¹ *Idem.*

¹² Washington (Iowa) *Journal*, Sept. 17, 1929; Emmetsburg (Iowa) *Tribune*, Oct. 3, 1929.

¹³ Indianola (Iowa) *Record*, Sept. 12, 1929.

¹⁴ Council Bluffs (Iowa) *Nonpareil*, Sept. 29, 1929.

with one extra flat car and one additional coach. The campaign officials retained the special features of the first train but arranged several new attractions for the Nebraska tour. Two 4-H pig club boys joined the personnel to talk to boys and girls along the route and to care for the livestock on board. A Harvard, Nebraska, farmer, Ernest Whisenand, went along to talk to farmers in each community about his successful methods of raising hogs. Nebraska's Governor Arthur J. Weaver dedicated the "Profitable Pork Production Special" in Lincoln on October 1 and then recounted some of his own farming experiences. After the speech, a pretty University of Nebraska coed christened the train with a bottle of pure lard, specially prepared for the occasion. The Lincoln Chamber of Commerce gave a luncheon as a "compliment and expression of appreciation to University of Nebraska and Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad executives" for arranging the "Profitable Pork Production Special." The menu featured roast pork to maintain the proper spirit.¹⁵

The purpose of the train remained identical with that of its Iowa counterpart: to encourage more economical swine production (or more profit per sow) through improved methods of breeding, feeding, and disease prevention. The exhibits were built around results obtained from experiments at the College of Agriculture in Lincoln. One group of exhibits emphasized proper marketing of hogs and prevention of diseases. A second group displayed the equipment needed to raise hogs in a sanitary manner; and a third contained two pens of 6½-months-old pigs. The pigs were of the same stock and had been fed in the same manner; however, one pen had been raised under the McLean System, while the other had been farrowed and raised in the usual manner. The pigs from the two pens weighed 225 and 70 pounds respectively.¹⁶

The fourth exhibit car demonstrated the results of certain experimental feeding methods worked out by the College of Agriculture. According to the University's specialists, a pig gained 100 pounds on 642 pounds of corn and plenty of water. The pig would have gained the same weight on 350 pounds

¹⁵ Ford to Roth, Aug. 3, 1929; press release from the College of Agriculture, Lincoln, Nebr., dated Sept. 20 and 28, 1929; *Omaha Daily Journal-Stockman*, Oct. 2, 1929; W. S. Whitten, Secretary, Lincoln Chamber of Commerce, to Kuska, Sept. 23, 1929.

¹⁶ F. L. Taylor to H. L. Ford, "Report on the Profitable Pork Production Special," October, 1929.

of corn supplemented by 36 pounds of a protein concentrate. This reduced feeding costs from \$8.62 to \$6.84 per hundredweight — a savings of approximately \$178 on 50 pigs marketed at 200 pounds each. The two remaining cars contained feed exhibits and displays of breeds of hogs, with the various cuts of meat from each type.¹⁷

As in Iowa, visitors who registered at the train received special literature on swine production. The Burlington printed a circular on sanitary methods, with the motto, "Give the Pig a Chance," and the University of Nebraska issued a special circular entitled "Profitable Pork Production in Nebraska." In addition to these two items, there were numerous miscellaneous pamphlets on the various aspects of hog raising.¹⁸

Nebraska responded enthusiastically to the campaign. In spite of heavy rains and bad roads, over 100,000 persons attended the Nebraska lectures and exhibits at 63 stations, averaging 1,715 per stop. McCook established the high mark of the tour with an attendance of 4,436, while little Wahoo, hit by a three-inch rain, had but 216. At Crawford, a group of Smith-Hughes students traveled over thirty miles from Sioux County High School (at Harrison) to see the train. They looked and listened, with their pencils and notebooks ready; reportedly, they asked more questions than any other single group.¹⁹

The press of the state gave wide publicity to the tour, with some papers getting out special editions for the stop at their communities. The *Minden Booster*, for example, issued a four-page paper on behalf of the Minden Community Commercial Club. Many stories of the "Pork Special" and its purpose appeared in the edition, and the advertisements of local merchants played up the train and offered bargains for the occasion — an idea utilized by several communities to attract visitors.²⁰ The businessmen of Randolph purchased a double-page spread in the *Randolph Times-Enterprise* on "hog day." One item of particular interest was a sale of ladies' wash dresses for 70 cents.²¹

¹⁷ *Idem*; press release, College of Agriculture, Lincoln, Nebr. (no date).

¹⁸ There is a file of the literature distributed in Iowa and Nebraska in the Kuska materials.

¹⁹ Taylor to Ford, "Report on the Profitable Pork Production Special"; *Omaha Daily Journal-Stockman*, Oct. 7, 29, 1929.

²⁰ *Minden (Nebr.) Booster*, Oct. 17, 1929.

²¹ *Randolph (Nebr.) Times-Enterprise*, Sept. 26, 1929.

Editorially, the press endorsed the work of the Burlington Railroad and the University of Nebraska. The editor of *The Nebraska Farmer* commended the institutions for a project which "should leave in its wake many sound ideas which will result in the development of an important phase of the state's agriculture." He concluded by urging his readers to visit the train and listen to what the experts had to say.²² Some time later, Will M. Maupin, whose column, "Sunny-Side Up," appeared in many Nebraska newspapers during the 1920's, said that he had accompanied various educational trains in the past, but "the Burlington pork special aroused the keenest interest" of them all.²³

The "Profitable Pork Production Special" ended its Nebraska tour on October 25. The exhibits remained intact, and the Burlington moved the train to the state fairgrounds to be a part of the AK-SAR-BEN livestock show from November 1 to 8.²⁴ Meanwhile, the combined Iowa and Nebraska tours had attracted 155,765 persons in 96 communities. But the campaign for better swine production was by no means finished. The Burlington and college officials conducted extensive follow-up campaigns to keep swine sanitation and better feeding methods before the public and to measure to some degree the results of the tours.

Soon after the operation of the special train, Iowa State College restated the sanitary swine-raising system in a special bulletin which the Burlington sent to 20,000 Iowa farmers. During the following year, the railroad mailed another bulletin entitled "Fight Hog Mange and Save Money."²⁵

In October, 1930, Asa K. Hepperly, Burlington agricultural agent in Denver, submitted to Burlington officials a follow-up survey made by company and college workers. He reported an increase from 5.5 to 5.8 pigs per sow raised in Iowa during 1930; this netted 587,700 more pigs from the same number of sows. Also, a survey of lumber dealers in the thirty-three towns visited by the "Special" brought seventy-seven responses. Fifty-eight of the dealers who replied were selling hog houses or materials for the same. They reported an increase of only 6.2 per cent in the sale of ready-made movable houses, but they claimed an increase of 24.1 per cent in the sale of building materials and of 32.9 per cent in the sale of self-feeders.

²² *The Nebraska Farmer* (Lincoln), Oct. 12, 1929.

²³ Cambridge (Nebr.) *Clarion*, Nov. 14, 1929.

²⁴ Taylor to Ford, "Report on the Profitable Pork Production Special."

²⁵ Remley to Kuska, May 5, 1930; Hepperly to Kuska, July 30, 1930.

Many of the dealers blamed a short corn crop for holding down the hog-house business and praised the "Burlington Pork Special" for interesting the farmers in A-type houses.²⁶

At the same time, a survey was in progress in Nebraska. The Nebraska follow-up consisted mainly of a letter by F. L. Taylor, Burlington agent, to 5,000 hog producers in the state. The letter urged farmers to buy A-type hog houses, self-feeders, and self-watering equipment.²⁷ In addition to the letter by Taylor, O. O. Waggener prepared newspaper articles to keep the swine sanitation program in the minds of the farmers. In June, 1930, Waggener wrote an article in which he discussed the need for shade in raising hogs and the fact that A-type houses could furnish that shade. He also recommended self-watering equipment which would allow hogs to drink more both day and night and thereby relieve some of the suffering from the heat. This article went to 250 weekly papers throughout the state of Nebraska and to a number of daily papers. Two weeks later Waggener prepared another story on self-feeding in which he recommended giving hogs a choice of fattening or protein food, allowing access to a self-feeder at all times.²⁸

In November, Waggener reported the results of a joint Burlington-University of Nebraska survey in Cheyenne and Burt counties. He explained that 68 per cent of the hog producers in the two counties lost 10 to 60 per cent of their prospective receipts because of animal disease. The survey had reached 159 farms in the counties; of these, 78 of the farmers had visited the "Pork Special" in 1929. Fifty-one of the 78 owners had adopted some of the sanitary methods, but only five had practiced complete sanitation. Yet 107 of the total reported disease of one form or another. He also urged the farmers to adopt more sanitary methods.²⁹

Subsequently, the Nebraska College of Agriculture, using data from the United States pig survey and a study of lumber yards in Nebraska, estimated over 400,000 more pigs from the same number of sows in the 1930 pig crop. This represented an increase of from 5.3 to 5.9 pigs per litter

²⁶ A. K. Hepperly, "Special Report on Follow-up Survey, Burlington Pig Crop Special," October, 1930.

²⁷ Taylor to Kuska, Feb. 17, 1930.

²⁸ Copy of articles in the Kuska files.

²⁹ Copy of article in the Kuska files.

above 1929. The college also reported nearly 25,000 new movable hog houses and 4,000 new self-feeders.³⁰

In January, 1932, the college published a "Swine Sanitation Report" for Dawson County. Dawson County farmers averaged 5.5 pigs per litter without sanitary methods; with sanitation, they saved 7.5 pigs per litter. Also, the report stated that clean-ground pigs reached 200 pounds in 6 to 6½ months, while pigs raised on infested ground required 8 to 10 months to mature. Since a pig would eat six bushels of corn in the additional two months, the report estimated that 50 pigs would eat \$125 worth of extra corn (at 35 cents a bushel). Furthermore, seven sows could produce 50 pigs on clean ground, whereas nine would be needed under unsanitary methods; the two extra sows would require another 60 bushels (\$21 worth) of corn. The report contended that the earlier maturing hogs would go to market at high September prices; hogs sold in November would bring an estimated \$150 less on a glutted market. Thus, farmers using the clean ground method stood to save \$296 — an amount in excess of the initial cost of a sanitation system (approximately \$221.75) which would last for eight years. The estimates did not include interest charges and the cost of remedies used to fight hog diseases. Leaving out interest and savings on medical supplies, however, and amortizing the equipment over an eight-year period, a hog raiser could expect to save about \$268 annually on each lot of fifty pigs raised.³¹

Just how effective was the swine sanitation campaign? There is no certain method of measuring such results accurately, owing to the complexities of factors which influence agricultural production. Judging from the follow-up surveys made in Iowa and Nebraska, significant production changes followed the tours; logically, some of the changes can be attributed to the influence of the programs. From the point of view of Burlington freight department representatives, the campaigns must have appeared to be overwhelmingly successful: Iowa and Nebraska reportedly produced nearly a million extra pigs in 1930. This was hardly in keeping with the Burlington's slogan, "Not More Hogs but More Profit from the Hog Crop." Yet, obviously, those farmers who increased the number of pigs raised per litter, at the same or lower total costs, made higher profits. In this respect, the

³⁰ Undated report from the College of Agriculture, Lincoln, Nebr.

³¹ College of Agriculture, Lincoln, Nebr., "Dawson County Swine Sanitation Report," Jan. 13, 1932.

Burlington Route farmers benefited directly from the "Specials" and many of them undoubtedly enjoyed higher net incomes as a result.

For agriculture as a whole, however, the swine trains fitted into the overall pattern of the vicious circle which had plagued farmers since the Civil War: low farm prices and incomes resulting from the enormous technological strides made in all aspects of farming. Swine sanitation, like hybrid seed corn, added to the productive capacity of Iowa and Nebraska farms; it did nothing to prevent the supply of marketable hogs from outrunning the American public's ability to consume the output at prices profitable to the farmer. Nonetheless, the Burlington Railroad played an important role as a disseminator of agricultural knowledge, helping to advance the frontiers of better farming in its western territories.

THE FRUITS OF IOWA PROGRESSIVISM, 1900-1915

By *William L. Bowers**

During the early years of the twentieth century, many people in Iowa and the nation were concerned with the problem of coping concretely with the great power possessed by wealth and corporate influence — power too often wielded with little regard for the people. This popular state of mind, which protested against organized selfishness and which advocated definite change, was called "Progressivism." Its broad goal was to secure for the American people a fuller participation in shaping the laws and the protection of certain human rights basic to all men everywhere. Its chief manifestation was reform achieved through legislation. Some of its more important aims were: the regulation of corporate influence by laws which would provide for nominations at primary elections, the elimination of corporate political contributions, and the outlawing of free transportation and discriminatory rates; the placing of government more directly in the hands of the people through the use of the initiative, referendum, and recall; provisions for the popular election of United States Senators; pure food and drug legislation; the regulation of hours and conditions of female and child labor; the enactment of workmen's compensation and unemployment laws; woman suffrage; income and inheritance taxes; and the revision of the tariff rates.¹

In Iowa, before the Progressive era, the Republican party was dominated by the Old Guard — the "Standpatters." Such men as William Boyd Allison, the "Wise Old Senator" who had served in the United States Senate since 1873; David B. Henderson, Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1889 to 1902; and William Peters Hepburn, Congressman from the Eighth District, provided Standpat leadership in Washington. Many would

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¹This is the traditional definition of Progressivism as a revolt against the power and influence of the business community. For a vigorous interpretation stressing the economic and social conflict during the Progressive era, see Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism: 1885-1914* (Chicago, 1957).

also place Senator Jonathan P. Dolliver in this group, but recent research shows that although he did align himself with the Standpatters during the early part of his career, Dolliver definitely did not share their viewpoint from about 1898 to his death in 1910.²

Within the state, party control was dominated largely by two "railroad bosses," Joseph W. Blythe of the Burlington and Nathaniel M. Hubbard of the North Western. As railroad attorneys, these men subtly exerted political influence which brought most of Iowa's Republican strongholds under their control. A third member was added to the leadership of the Standpatters in Iowa in 1897 when Leslie M. Shaw, a Denison lawyer and banker, was elected governor.

Albert Baird Cummins was the undisputed leader of the Progressives in Iowa, but a number of able men supported him and shared in that leadership. Abraham B. Funk, editor of the *Spirit Lake Beacon* and member of the General Assembly, 1888-1894, was a vigorous supporter of the movement from its beginning in Iowa. Funk clearly discerned the railroad bosses' relationship to Iowa politics and viewed Cummins and the group which he led as a means of breaking this corporate domination by the railroads. Other prominent supporters included Solomon F. Prouty, ex-district judge and Seventh District Congressman from 1911 to 1915; Emory H. English, newspaper editor and member of the General Assembly from 1902 to 1906; Smith W. Brookhart, member of Governor Cummins' staff and later his successor in the Senate; and Howard W. Byers, member of the General Assembly, 1893-1896, and Attorney General of Iowa in 1906.

The Progressive trend in public thinking was expressed in Iowa with the election of Albert Baird Cummins as governor in 1901. Cummins was an able and successful lawyer and a man of considerable individuality of thought and expression. Under his leadership as governor from 1901 to 1908, and through the efforts of numerous of his supporters, many of the aims of Progressivism were realized.³ In 1908, upon the death of Senator Allison, Cummins at last realized his ambition to have a seat in the United States Senate, but the Standpatters elected their candidate, Beryl F. Carroll,

² Thomas Richard Ross, *Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver: A Study in Political Integrity and Independence* (Iowa City, 1958), *passim*.

³ *Ibid.*, 216. Thomas J. Bray, Progressive Republican legislator, includes a lengthy list of men who supported Iowa Progressivism in his recently published book of reminiscences, *Rebirth of Freedom* (Indianola, Iowa, 1957), 115-16.

as governor, and the party division continued. Many of the goals of Progressivism in Iowa had been achieved by this time, however, and with the advent of World War I and America's involvement in it, Progressive sentiment in Iowa, and America, was eclipsed.

The program of Progressivism in Iowa sought to fulfill those demands for change which in their beginnings were centered chiefly in the agrarian discontent of the nineteenth century, but which by 1900 had enlarged and were actually being advocated by the public at large. The primary spokesmen of this public impulse were the leaders of the Progressive faction of the Republican party in Iowa.

These men protested against corporate influence in politics and certain corporate practices inimical to the public good. They viewed the practice of hiring lobbyists to influence legislation, of contributing money to influence elections, of "stock watering," and of using the free pass to influence legislators as particularly offensive.⁴

A primary election law was another item placed high on the list of objectives by these Iowa Progressives. Agitation for election reform had started in the nineteenth century, and although some progress was made when the Australian ballot was adopted in 1892, fraud, intimidation, and imposition still prevailed to a degree hardly tolerable at the turn of the century. A primary law was therefore sought as a more fair and honest method of nominating candidates.⁵

Iowa Progressives also gave attention to the railroad problem which, although it had received considerable attention during the 1870's and 1880's, still existed. The chief problems now were: (1) how to lessen the railroads' corporate influence; (2) how to apportion more adequately the tax load of the railroads; (3) abolition of the free pass; (4) establishment of a two-cent passenger rate; and (5) more efficient regulation of freight rates.⁶

⁴ See the inaugurals and messages of Gov. Albert B. Cummins in Vol. I of *Iowa Documents* for each of the following years: 1902 (inaugural), 7, 12; 1904 (biennial), 27; 1906 (biennial), 23-4; 1907 (message), 18-19, 23-4; 1907 (inaugural), 11-13.

⁵ Emory H. English, "Evolution in Iowa Voting Practices," *Annals of Iowa* (3rd ser.), 29:252-62 (April, 1948); Cummins' biennial messages, *Iowa Documents*, 1904, 1:15-16; 1906, 1:11-14. Spirit Lake Beacon, Nov. 23, 1906; *ibid.*, quoted in *Sioux City Journal*, Jan. 15, 1906.

⁶ Cummins' messages, *Iowa Documents*, 1902 (inaugural), 1:16; 1906 (biennial), 1:14-15; Bray, *Rebirth of Freedom*, 20.

The subject of insurance and its regulation also entered into Progressive thinking in Iowa, because the elements of deceit and corruption connected with its operation were becoming intolerable. Progressives particularly sought standardization of forms and policies and an annual accounting to policyholders of their share in the surpluses of the company.⁷

Tariff reform and reciprocity were also subscribed to by Iowa Progressives. They contended that tariff rates were too high, afforded a climate for the growth of monopoly, and forced the consumer to pay higher prices. In both 1901 and 1906 Progressives were able to incorporate their position concerning the tariff into the Republican state platform. In the 1901 platform the tariff plank gained wide recognition as the "Iowa Idea."⁸

Still other reform objectives of Iowa Progressives were: educational reform, particularly the codification of the school laws; child labor legislation; penal reform, particularly an indeterminate sentence and the separation of juvenile lawbreakers from adult criminals in penal institutions; better liquor law enforcement; pure food and drug legislation; a direct inheritance tax; reform of the tax structure, particularly the establishment of a tax commission; acquisition of more direct government through the initiative and referendum; and improvement of the efficiency and moral fiber of city government.⁹ This, then, briefly outlines the reform program Iowa Progressives laid out for themselves.

The Progressive movement in Iowa did not successfully enact all its program during the early twentieth century. However, Progressives were successful in achieving most of their purposes at that time. Today, hardly forty years later, the principles and demands of these earlier day Progressives have become an accepted reality, and indeed, now seem commonplace.

As for the failures of Progressivism, they were failures for the time being only in most cases. The struggle to carry out these demands for more regu-

⁷ Cummins' biennial message, *Iowa Documents*, 1906, 1:9-10.

⁸ George E. Roberts, "The Origins and History of the Iowa Idea," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 2:62, 69-70, 72-8 (January, 1904); Republican State Platform, *Cedar Falls Daily Record*, Aug. 7, 1906; Cummins' inaugural messages, *Iowa Documents*, 1902, 1:10; 1904, 1:9-10.

⁹ Cummins' messages, *Iowa Documents*, 1902 (inaugural), 1:19-23; 1904 (biennial), 1:13-15, 18-20; 1904 (inaugural), 1:11-16; 1906 (biennial), 1:19-23; 1907 (message), 1:10, 12, 15; Gov. Warren Garst's biennial message, 1909, 1:7-8, 13, 23; Gov. George W. Clarke's inaugural message, 1913, 1:15-16. See campaign speeches in *Sioux City Journal*, Oct. 23, 1901; *Mason City Times-Herald*, Oct. 4, 1901.

lation of business, for putting government more completely into the hands of the people, and for doing away with privileges and corruption was neither a short nor an easy one. The forces aligned against Progressivism were formidable and not readily overcome. Viewed in this light it would seem that the accomplishments of Progressivism in Iowa were more than most would have expected.

Regulation of the railroads had been a problem already tackled by the nineteenth century forerunners of Progressivism in Iowa. Other than the temporary success of 1874 and the more lasting success of 1888, no important legislation regulating the railroads had been passed before 1900. Successful legislation aimed at regulating the railroads of Iowa during the Progressive period can be grouped in four general categories: (1) legislation pertaining to more equitable railroad taxation; (2) legislation concerned with increasing the power and authority of the State Railroad Commission; (3) legislation which sought to eliminate the free pass system; and (4) legislation pertaining to the two-cent fare.¹⁰

Demands that the railroads be made to bear their fair share of the burden of taxation were strong in 1901. Taxes were then assessed by the Executive Council made up of the governor, the secretary of state, the state auditor, the state treasurer, and the secretary of agriculture. Thus the state officers elected in 1901 would have a say in taxing the railroads. The "railroad bosses" of Iowa, Blythe and Hubbard, were backing E. H. Conger for the gubernatorial nomination against Cummins. One Progressive editor commented:

Blythe and Hubbard are bent on controlling the next governor of Iowa. Gilbertson and Martin, two members of the executive council, hold over next year, and both of them are in favor of compelling the railroads to pay their equitable share of taxation. Merriam, another member, is against any increase in valuation of the "Q" and the Northwestern, and if Blythe and Hubbard can select a governor who will do their will the council will be a tie next year, and the valuation will not be increased. That is why

¹⁰ Although not in the form of "successful legislation," Iowa Progressivism's first victory in the struggle to regulate the railroads doing business in the state was scored in 1902 when Cummins vetoed Senate File 138, introduced by F. M. Molsberry and providing for amendment of the Code to increase the authorized indebtedness of "certain corporations" — in this case, the railroads. *Journal of the Iowa Senate, 1902, 177, 786-91.* (Hereafter cited as *Senate Journal.*)

they opposed the nomination of Gilbertson and Martin last year; that is the reason they oppose Cummins; that is the cause of their present support of Conger. Rally around Cummins and defeat this shameful corporate influence.¹¹

The fact that Blythe and Hubbard failed in their support of Conger, and that Cummins was nominated and elected in 1901, indicates the widespread Progressive sentiment in Iowa at that time.

In the 1902 session of the General Assembly, a bill sponsored by Emory H. English of Polk County was introduced and passed. This law required the railroads to report their gross earnings, net earnings (as computed by a uniform method to be used by all railroads operating in the state), and any other pertinent information to the Executive Council. Taxes would then be assessed accordingly. Failure to submit such reports would result in the Executive Council's assessing the tax according to available information and then adding a 25 per cent of taxable valuation penalty. In 1904 a law was passed which required railroads and other corporations owning real estate to report it to the Executive Council for assessment.¹² With the passage of these laws, demands for more equitable railroad taxation seem to have been satisfied, for no other important tax laws pertaining to the railroads were passed. During the Cummins administrations alone the railroads in Iowa had to pay \$39,000 a year more to the state in taxes and \$405,000 a year more to the counties as a result of this legislation.¹³

The Board of Railroad Commissioners, which had been created in the 1870's, had always been a rather weak regulatory power even though strengthened somewhat by the commission law of 1888. With this in mind, the twentieth century Progressives sought to increase the Board's power and authority. Not until the 1907 session of the General Assembly was any legislation passed giving increased power to the Commission, but in that year three laws were enacted. One of these laws gave the Commission authority to examine and inspect the condition of each railroad, its equipment, its bridges, and the manner of its conduct and management with regard to public safety and convenience. Equipment was to be put in proper order if

¹¹ Odebolt *Chronicle*, May 16, 1901.

¹² *Journal of the Iowa House*, 1902, House File 172. (Hereafter cited as *House Journal*.) *Laws of Iowa*, 1902, Chap. 61; 1904, Chap. 46.

¹³ Edward Lissner, "Iowa's Political War and Its Bearing Upon the Destiny of the Republican Party," *Harper's Weekly*, 50:550 (Apr. 21, 1906).

likely to affect the public safety. In the case of defective bridges, repairs were to be made within ten days, or the Commission could stop trains from using them. The law also gave the Commission authority to see that the railroads complied completely with their charters, and if they did not, the Board could serve notice and take civil action against them. Another of the 1907 laws gave the Commission the right to appeal to the Interstate Commerce Commission in cases where railroads hauling freight from a point outside of the state into the state or vice versa were accused of charging unjust or unreasonable rates. The third 1907 law declared freight companies common carriers and placed them under the supervision of the Railroad Commission.¹⁴

In 1909 the Commission was given additional enforcement power with the right to impose a penalty of fifty dollars per day for every day that a railroad refused, failed, or neglected to obey its "rules, orders, and regulations."¹⁵ After 1909 little more was done to enlarge the powers and authority of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, and with the coming of World War I and government control of the railroads, little more needed to be done, for the railroads were never again the powers that they had once been.

Probably the most vigorous struggle with the railroads during this time was concerned with the elimination of the free pass system. A resolution passed by the Forty-eighth Senatorial District Convention in 1901 is illustrative of the growing sentiment concerning this subject:

We condemn the improper activities of larger corporations, existing under public charters in the effort to influence political actions for selfish purposes. To the end that these evils may be minimized we demand the enactment of legislation forbidding the distribution of free passes, franks, and similar favors such as too frequently pass as coin current in the purchase of political favors and influence.¹⁶

In 1902, when Progressivism was just getting started as far as legislation was concerned, only one bill was introduced dealing with the free pass. Two years later, however, four bills were introduced, indicating an ever increasing revulsion against the free pass system. None of these bills passed,

¹⁴ *Laws of Iowa, 1907*, Chaps. 106, 108, 116.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1909, Chap. 129.

¹⁶ *Sioux City Journal*, May 22, 1901.

but by 1906 Progressivism had taken hold in the state, and an anti-free pass bill was enacted.¹⁷ One Iowa editor commented on the new legislation:

Very few people will ride on free passes over the railroads this year. The new rate law forbids any common carrier, subject to its provisions, to issue or give any interstate free ticket, free pass, or free transportation for passengers except to railway employees and officers and their families, and for certain specific classes of charitable work. Any common carrier violating the provision may be fined not less than \$100 nor more than \$1000, and any person accepting a pass in violation of it is subject to a like penalty. Therefore the free pass to influence legislation or to get business may be considered a thing of the past, so far as interstate business is concerned.¹⁸

However, the law did not prohibit the giving or accepting of free transportation to as many people as the foregoing statement would imply, nor to as many as some Progressives would have preferred.¹⁹

Therefore, in 1907, a new and more inclusive bill was introduced and passed, but its course was not an easy one, due to strong opposition and disagreement. Elbert W. Weeks of Guthrie, one of those voting against the measure, explained his position:

I do not consider the provisions of this bill reasonable and just to the interests involved. It is, in my judgment, different from what other states have adopted and wholly unnecessary in this. I believe in just and equitable laws and we ought to enact them free from all political reasons, considering natural causes and conditions. We are apt, because we have the power, to go too far and do unwise things, violent, uncalled for and solely for political ad-

¹⁷ *House Journal*, 1902, H. F. 110; 1904, H. F. 10, 198, 242; *Senate Journal*, 1904, S. F. 137; 1906, S. F. 12; *Laws of Iowa*, 1906, Chap. 90.

¹⁸ *Waterloo Daily Courier*, Jan. 2, 1907.

¹⁹ Actually, the law reads: "An act making it unlawful for any steam railway or interurban railway doing business within the state, or any officer, agent or representative thereof, to issue, give or offer to any city, county, district, state or federal officer, including judges and members of the general assembly, or to any candidate to a political convention to use in attending such convention or return therefrom, or to any member of any political committee or employe thereof, or to any candidate for a city, county, district, state or federal office, or to jurors in state or federal courts, any free pass, ticket, or other privilege at rates less than charged the public." The law also made it illegal for those listed to accept such free passes or privileges. *Laws of Iowa*, 1906, Chap. 90.

vantage, and fearing that some of these elements enter into this bill I believe it my duty to vote against it.²⁰

The law, more comprehensive than the 1906 measure which it repealed, contained a detailed list of those to whom free passes were to be allowed and required that free pass beneficiaries be reported on a sworn statement each year.²¹ With the enactment of this law, the political influence of the free pass was broken in Iowa, and the issue faded from the Iowa political scene.

Attempts by the Progressives to do something about the passenger rates charged by railroads started in 1904 when several bills were introduced in the Iowa legislature. One of these bills had the twofold purpose of abolishing the free pass and establishing a two-cent fare, but it died in committee. The other two bills aimed at providing for classification of the railroads and assignment of new rates based on the new classifications. One of these, House File 304, was enacted into law.²² Nothing further was done by the 1906 legislature, but when the General Assembly met in 1907 no less than six bills concerned with passenger rates on railways were introduced. Only one of these, House File 220, which passed, amended two sections of the Code of Iowa and provided for the classification of all railroads in the state according to their gross earnings per mile within the state for the preceding year.²³ Class "A" included all railroads whose gross annual income per mile was \$4,000 or more; class "B," those with earnings from \$3,000 to \$4,000; and class "C," those whose annual gross was less than \$3,000. Railroads of class "A" were to charge no more than two cents per mile for all passengers above twelve years of age; class "B" railroads, no more than two and one-half cents per mile; class "C" railroads could continue to charge the three-cent per mile fare which had been the standard rate to that time.²⁴ This was the closest that Iowa legislators came to enacting a strict two-cent fare law for railroad passenger transportation during this period.

Closely related to passenger rates, and perhaps more of a problem in reality, were freight rates. The railroad law of 1888 had established a de-

²⁰ *House Journal*, 1907, H. F. 379.

²¹ *Laws of Iowa*, 1907, Chap. 112.

²² *House Journal*, 1904, H. F. 198, 304; *Senate Journal*, 1904, S. F. 259; *Laws of Iowa*, 1904, Chap. 75.

²³ *House Journal*, 1907, H. F. 3, 6, 9, 13, 220; *Senate Journal*, 1907, S. F. 4.

²⁴ *Laws of Iowa*, 1907, Chap. 102.

tailed schedule of freight rates which had served well, but discrimination in rates still persisted, and many Progressives believed that something should be done about the situation. Bills introduced in both houses of the 1902 General Assembly relating to freight-rate discrimination failed to pass, however.²⁵ The matter seemed to fade out as a really live issue until 1907, when a bill was introduced and passed to make appropriations to enable the State Railroad Commission to make an investigation of railroad freight rates.²⁶ The lack of specific measures dealing with the regulation of freight was undoubtedly due to the fact that much freight-rate regulation was obtained through the other 1907 bills which increased the power and authority of the Board of Railroad Commissioners.

As custodians of the public's money, insurance companies and their practices also came under the scrutiny of the Progressives in Iowa. With the ever widening scope of insurance operations at the turn of the century, more regulation was deemed necessary by most Progressives. Insurance companies were corporations, and certain questionable practices which made it easy for them and their agents to bilk and defraud the public were given particular attention, with the purpose of abolishing such practices within the state.

One of the goals of the twentieth century Progressive legislators was to compel fire insurance companies operating in Iowa to use a uniform policy which would definitely cut down on some of the fraudulent practices being used. Members of the 1902 General Assembly pushed this measure some, but with no success. Although five bills were introduced, none of them was passed. Unsuccessful attempts were made again in 1904 and 1906.²⁷ Then, in 1907, a bill introduced in the House by F. F. Jones of Montgomery County was passed and signed by the governor. This law made it illegal to use any policy form other than the standard one prescribed under penalty of a \$50 to \$100 fine for a first offense and a \$100 to \$200 fine for each subsequent offense.²⁸

Another concern of Progressives in respect to insurance was the creation of a department of insurance with a commissioner to regulate insurance

²⁵ *House Journal*, 1902, H. F. 199; *Senate Journal*, 1902, S. F. 4.

²⁶ *Senate Journal*, 1907, S. F. 224; *Laws of Iowa*, 1907, Chap. 205.

²⁷ *House Journal*, 1902, H. F. 356, 371; 1904, H. F. 349; *Senate Journal*, 1902, S. F. 301, 312, 359; 1906, S. F. 66, 92.

²⁸ *House Journal*, 1907, H. F. 49; *Laws of Iowa*, 1907, Chap. 76.

companies in the state. Bills to that end were introduced in 1902, 1907, and 1909, but with no success.²⁹ Finally, in 1913, an Insurance Department and Insurance Commissioner were established, due in large degree to the persistent efforts of those who had done the groundwork.³⁰

Other successes of the Progressives were achieved when, in 1904, several bills sponsored by Lorenzo D. Teter of Marion County and Emory H. English of Polk County, providing for approval of policies or contracts of life insurance companies, the examination of insurance companies, and the licensing of insurance companies and associations, were enacted into law.³¹ The bill providing for the approval of policies required that all companies doing business within the state should file a copy of their policy with the auditor for approval or disapproval by either himself, the governor, or the attorney general. Upon disapproval by any one or all of these officials, the policy was not to be written or used in Iowa. The law providing for the examination of insurance companies stipulated that if, upon examination, a company were found to be insolvent or unsound or doing an illegal business, its certificate and right to do business in Iowa could be taken from it. The law in respect to the licensing of insurance companies and their agents imposed a penalty for acting without a license of \$25 per day for every day of illegal operation.³²

In 1906 the General Assembly provided for the creation of a legislative commission to examine the subject of insurance and the practices of insurance companies doing business in the state. The Commission was to be made up of five members — two senators and three representatives — and it was to have power to investigate thoroughly the practices of the insurance business in Iowa. An appropriation of \$10,000 was approved for the expense of the inquiry, and recommendations, particularly in connection with the uniform policy, were to be made to the next legislature.³³ Nothing of great importance seems to have resulted, although, as already noted, several bills concerned with the uniform policy and establishment of an insurance department were introduced in the legislature the following year. Limitations upon the amount and kinds of risks that insurance companies

²⁹ *House Journal*, 1902, H. F. 417; 1907, H. F. 31; *Senate Journal*, 1907, S. F. 15.

³⁰ *Senate Journal*, 1913, S. F. 522; *Laws of Iowa*, 1913, Chap. 146.

³¹ *House Journal*, 1904, H. F. 389, 144, 393. The last two of these bills were introduced by English. *Laws of Iowa*, 1904, Chap. 59, 56, 57, respectively.

³² *Laws of Iowa*, 1904, Chaps. 56, 57, 59.

³³ *Ibid.*, 1906, Chap. 188.

could cover were also set by law in 1906. Companies other than life insurance companies were limited to eight specified kinds of risks and were prohibited from insuring any risk for more than 10 per cent of its paid up capital. The legislature in 1907 passed a bill to amend the Code in respect to limitations of investment by insurance companies. Two other bills of importance, House File 275 and Senate File 42, were enacted into law also in that year.³⁴ House File 275 aimed to prohibit the misrepresentation of any life insurance policy either by false advertising or other means. Senate File 42 provided the conditions under which a company could operate upon the stock plan and fixed the minimum amount of capital stock for incorporation at \$100,000. Then, with the establishment of the Insurance Department and provisions for an Insurance Commissioner in 1913, the larger aspects of the insurance problem were solved.

Regulation of corporations other than railroad and insurance companies was also sought by both reformers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Because Iowa was dominantly an agricultural state, the problem presented by the corporations, with the exception of the two types previously mentioned, was not as great as in some other states. Still, the activities and monopolistic tendencies of some corporations made themselves felt even in Iowa. With this problem in mind, legislators introduced a bill in the 1902 General Assembly to prevent fraud on the part of private corporations, to provide for the examination and control of loan and trust companies, and to regulate corporations operating in Iowa, regardless of where they were organized.³⁵ None of these bills passed, but they bear witness to a growing concern for government regulation of corporations. In the 1904 session of the legislature, House File 425 was introduced by H. B. Kling of Harrison County with the express purpose of providing for the regulation of organizations, other than loan and insurance companies, handling investments in Iowa. This bill became law, and although no great victory for the forces wishing to regulate corporations, it was a step in the right direction and heralded what was about to come.³⁶ In 1906 another attempt to regulate all corporations doing business in Iowa, whether organized there or not, was made, but with no success.³⁷

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1906, Chaps. 71, 77; 1907, Chaps. 85, 79; *House Journal*, 1906, H. F. 57.

³⁵ *Senate Journal*, 1902, S. F. 219, 311; *House Journal*, 1902, H. F. 403.

³⁶ *House Journal*, 1904, H. F. 425; *Laws of Iowa*, 1904, Chap. 66.

³⁷ *House Journal*, 1906, H. F. 152.

As has been mentioned previously, the year 1907 seems to have produced a bumper crop of Progressive reform legislation. In that year a number of laws were passed dealing with corporations and their regulation. One of these laws prohibited the formation of combinations among grain elevator men or persons involved in grain dealing. Another put an end to the corporate abuse of "stock watering." Of supreme importance, however, was the passage of a law in 1907 which prohibited any corporation doing business within the state from giving financial or other aid to candidates in elections within the state.³⁸ This law was a severe blow to the railroads operating within Iowa, for they could no longer "buy" candidates and electors who would help to preserve their position through favorable legislation.

Two years later, in 1909, a law was enacted to require all corporations doing business within Iowa to make an annual report and pay an annual license fee to the secretary of state.³⁹ There was also an attempt in 1909 to regulate public utility corporations. A bill was introduced in the House of Representatives by Herman Kull of Howard County to prohibit the formation of combinations, pools, and trusts; it became law and went one step further than the 1907 law concerning combinations in the grain dealing business and made combinations in any business illegal.⁴⁰

Thus by 1910 corporations in Iowa had been prohibited from watering stock, required to make annual reports, required to be licensed, prohibited from combining and establishing trusts, and had been eliminated from influencing politics in any large degree with their wealth. With these successes the major goals of Iowa Progressivism as they applied to corporations within the state had been realized, and the heyday of corporate influence and power was over.

Although agitation for a primary law in Iowa dates back before the turn of the century, the early efforts for such a law gained more support in neighboring states than in Iowa. Wisconsin was the first Midwestern state

³⁸ *Laws of Iowa, 1907*, Chaps. 188, 73, 71. This last law required that all corporations doing business within the state of Iowa have their capital stock paid for in cash at par value.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1909, Chap. 105.

⁴⁰ One bill, H. F. 178, was concerned with regulation of certain public service corporations, but was not passed; two years later, in 1911, the main concern of Iowa legislators in respect to corporations seemed to be centered about regulation of the ever increasing public service corporations. *Senate Journal, 1911*, S. F. 4, 42, 192; *House Journal, 1909*, H. F. 383; *Laws of Iowa, 1909*, Chap. 225.

to have such a primary election law. Still, Iowa did get a primary law and it proved to be one of Iowa Progressivism's greatest achievements.

As early as 1897 a desire existed among the people in Iowa for a law to regulate primary elections.⁴¹ In the 1896 legislature several such bills had been introduced but had failed to pass. In 1898, when the Twenty-seventh General Assembly met, several more efforts were made to get a primary election bill passed. Two of these bills failed, but a third passed and became Iowa's first law allowing primary elections to be held.⁴² Under this law any party in any county could adopt the primary election system, but the law was not compulsory nor was it statewide.

Four years later the first compulsory statewide primary law was proposed by Senator James J. Crossley of Winterset. The same measure was introduced in the House by Robert A. Greene of Madison County and was lost there by a vote of 48 to 51.⁴³ Sentiment favoring a statewide primary served to let legislators know of the widespread and increasing interest in such a law, and between adjournment of the 1902 session and the convening of the legislature in 1904 much discussion was devoted to the subject. In the minds of many, citizens and legislators alike, the time had come to do something about the existing situation.⁴⁴ When the session of the Thirtieth General Assembly met in 1904, five primary bills were introduced, but again, only one of these passed — a bill introduced by Emory H. English requiring primary elections in those counties with a population of 75,000 or more.⁴⁵ By 1906 feeling concerning a statewide primary still ran high, and the subject was discussed by newspaper editors and the citizenry in general. Comments, pro and con, appeared on the pages of newspapers throughout the state. "The best argument for a primary law in this state," in the opinion of a Knoxville editor, "is the opposition of the railroad attorneys to such a measure." The Dubuque *Times* did not think such a law necessary:

⁴¹ English, "Evolution in Iowa Voting Practices," 261.

⁴² *Senate Journal*, 1896, S. F. 29; 1898, S. F. 20, 123; *House Journal*, 1896, H. F. 66, 45; 1898, H. F. 150. House File 150 was the bill which became law. *Laws of Iowa*, 1898, Chap. 111.

⁴³ *Senate Journal*, 1902, S. F. 2; *House Journal*, 1902, H. F. 8.

⁴⁴ English, "Evolution in Iowa Voting Practices," 264-8.

⁴⁵ *Senate Journal*, 1904, S. F. 3, 147; *House Journal*, 1904, H. F. 1, 3, 22; *Laws of Iowa*, 1904, Chap. 40. House File 1 was the English bill; at the time of its passage it required primary elections only in Polk County, since it was the only county covered by the population requirement.

A statewide primary law for Iowa is about as necessary as a fifth wheel to a wagon. It is one thing to throw the protection of the law about primaries, caucuses or conventions called by proper authority within the party. It is quite another to limit the people to a certain form in making nominations for public office and to impose on the taxpayers the cost of contests between the politicians for the nominations. No public necessity requires this course and the experience of no state which has tried the primary plan demonstrates that public advantage results from it.⁴⁶

Planks in the party platforms indicate that both the Republican and Democratic parties favored the primary in 1906.⁴⁷ As a result, Representatives Robert A. Greene and Emory H. English, who had both introduced primary bills in the 1904 legislature, proposed bills for statewide primaries in 1906, as did Representative J. C. Flenniken of Clayton County.⁴⁸ Still, none of these bills passed in 1906. Early in the 1907 session, two bills for primary elections were introduced in the Senate, one by Senator Peterson of Clarion and one by Senator Crossley of Winterset. After much discussion and amendment, a bill substituted by the Committee on Elections, but resembling the Crossley bill closely, passed the Senate by a vote of 46 to 2. In the House the bill underwent further discussion and amendment, but was finally passed by a unanimous vote. The struggle to get a primary law for Iowa was not over yet, however, for the Senate refused to concur in the House amendments, and a conference committee had to be appointed. The committee's report was adopted by both houses on March 29, 1907, and the bill was sent to the governor and signed into law.⁴⁹ Thus, after more than ten years of struggle, Iowa had a statewide primary election law which allowed the people to nominate candidates directly for public office. The law also provided for a preferential vote for a party candidate for United States Senator.

In addition to the feeling that the primary election was a needed reform,

⁴⁶ *Knoxville Journal* and *Dubuque Times*, quoted in *Sioux City Journal*, Jan. 17, 1906.

⁴⁷ English, "Evolution in Iowa Voting Practices," 278.

⁴⁸ *House Journal*, 1906, H. F. 7, 153, 372.

⁴⁹ *Senate Journal*, 1907, S. F. 2, 3, 280, and pp. 923, 1015, 1120-21, 1153, 1285; *Laws of Iowa*, 1907, Chap. 51. Section 25 outlawed the use of proxy delegates at nominating conventions, a practice which had been frequently used to control conventions.

considerable sentiment was voiced by Iowa Progressives, particularly from 1907 on, for popular election of United States Senators. The *Waterloo Courier* expressed early in 1907 the feeling of most Progressives of Iowa and the nation as a whole:

Government will never be made sufficiently responsive to public opinion until United States senators come to be elected by direct vote. An amendment to the Constitution requiring the election of senators by direct vote is one of the crying needs of the times, and it is gratifying to note the sentiment favorable to such an amendment is all the while growing. . . . If senators were elected by direct vote parties would give more care of the selection of candidates. Corporations would be less likely to control elections, for, if a party should fly in the face of public sentiment and select an unfit candidate, the people could provide the needed remedy at the polls; whereas now, once a nomination is made in party caucus, however unfit it may be, the party whip is invoked to confirm the caucus nomination by an election in the legislature.⁵⁰

So eminent a person as Senator Jonathan P. Dolliver commented on the subject, although in language not nearly as emphatic as the *Waterloo* editor's:

While I fully recognize the propriety of bringing the office of senator within the direct control of the people by including it in the provisions of the primary law to the enactment of which all parties in Iowa are committed, nevertheless, I cannot forbear saying that in this state the old system has worked well. . . .

The idea of the [founding] fathers was that the people should choose the senator. In the simplicity of their hearts they never foresaw that in many states the time would come when candidates for the senate would choose the legislature, either by the power of the machine or, as just now in Colorado, by financing the nomination and election of its members, leaving that body to merely enter upon its records the secret proceedings of the campaign. In the state of Iowa from its admission to the Union — from Grimes to Allison — that greatest and best beloved man in the history of the state, the people have chosen the legislature and the legislature has selected the senator. We can do no harm and may do much good to shift the contest for senatorial succession from the state house to the townships, so that dangerous tendencies already mani-

⁵⁰ *Waterloo Daily Courier*, Jan. 21, 1907.

fest in many places to make the business of the state, growing every year more important and more complex, altogether subordinate to the intrigues which are likely to attend the election of senators of the United States, may be corrected.⁵¹

Starting with the Thirty-first General Assembly, which met in 1906, joint resolutions advocating the direct election of United States Senators were made with considerable regularity. The preferential vote provided for in the 1907 primary law was an effort to give the people a voice in the election of a Senator. Finally, in 1913, passage and ratification of the Seventeenth Amendment to the United States Constitution resolved the matter.⁵²

Other changes in election laws which came about during the first fifteen years of the twentieth century were: those providing for biennial elections; a law requiring candidates in elections in Iowa, whether primary, municipal, or general, to file statements showing their expenses in the election; and a statute providing for the registration of voters in cities and counties of certain population. In addition to these actual legislated changes, bills were introduced but not passed dealing with various aspects of elections, ranging from a bill in 1904 to regulate the right of suffrage and the right to vote, to a couple of bills introduced in 1913 which would have provided for an absentee ballot.⁵³

Efforts to enact pure food and drug laws date back to the early days of the Progressive era in Iowa politics. Efforts to curb the adulteration of foods and drugs by the unscrupulous were carried on by courageous men on both the national and state level. Although such laws passed sooner on the national level, efforts to obtain such legislation in Iowa were brought to a successful culmination close upon the heels of the federal legislation.⁵⁴ In the session of the Twenty-ninth General Assembly, which met in 1902, two bills aimed at curbing misbranding and adulteration of foods failed to pass, but they indicated the enlarging interest in the matter of the misuse of

⁵¹ Speech before Republican caucus, Des Moines, Jan. 22, 1907, in *ibid.*, Jan. 23, 1907.

⁵² *Laws of Iowa*, 1906, Joint Res. 3; 1907, Senate Joint Res. 2; 1913, Chap. 105.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1904, Joint Res. 1; 1906, Chap. 41; 1907, Chap. 50; Amendment to Sec. 16, Art. 12, Iowa Constitution, *House Journal*, 1904, H. F. 97; 1913, H. F. 251; *Senate Journal*, 1913, S. F. 468.

⁵⁴ The federal Pure Food and Drug Act and the Meat Inspection Act were passed in 1906; Iowa's pure food and drug legislation came in 1906 and 1907.

brands and the contamination of food sold to the public. When the Thirtieth General Assembly met in 1904, three more bills concerned with purity of foods and drugs dispensed to the public failed.⁵⁵ Early in the next session, two years later, Senator Byron W. Newberry introduced a bill "to prevent the adulteration, misbranding and imitation of foods, to change the office of 'State Dairy Commissioner' to that of 'State Food and Dairy Commissioner' and to define his duties." A substitute for this bill, but resembling its provisions very closely, was finally adopted and sent to the governor for signature on February 23, 1906.⁵⁶ By its passage a situation where hundreds in the state died from ptomaine poisoning or from effects traceable to food contamination was practically eliminated.

A bill relating to regulation of the manufacture and purity of patent medicines was introduced in 1906, but it did not pass. However, the following year, when the legislature met under the new biennial election amendment, such a bill, introduced by Senator Newberry, passed and was signed into law.⁵⁷ The consequences of the law are suggested by an article written at the time the bill was being discussed in the Senate:

The storm is gathering about the heads of the courageous statesmen who have fathered the bill to put a curb on the dangers of the patent medicine business.

The bill, upon close examination, is found to be decidedly drastic in its provisions. It goes so deep that it will, if enforced, put out of business a good many of the bottled concoctions which are sold everywhere in the state. . . . It would virtually drive out of business a number of the big institutions in Des Moines, but the members point to the good that would come from such a law.⁵⁸

Nonetheless, Iowa now had both a pure food law and a pure drug law, and a decided victory had been won by the forces behind Iowa's Progressive sentiment.⁵⁹

Another area where change was sought by Iowa's Progressives was edu-

⁵⁵ *Senate Journal*, 1902, S. F. 306; 1904, S. F. 273; *House Journal*, 1902, H. F. 146; 1904, H. F. 187, 218. House File 217 and Senate File 273 were aimed at regulating the sale of patent medicines containing narcotics or any alcoholic preparation.

⁵⁶ *Senate Journal*, 1906, S. F. 8, and pp. 338-9, 410, 485; *Laws of Iowa*, 1906, Chap. 166.

⁵⁷ *Senate Journal*, 1906, S. F. 148; 1907, S. F. 31; *Laws of Iowa*, 1907, Chap. 176.

⁵⁸ *Waterloo Daily Courier*, Jan. 31, 1907.

⁵⁹ *Laws of Iowa*, 1906, Chap. 166; 1907, Chap. 176.

cation. The demands can be summarized as basically these: (1) improvement and enlargement of the facilities at the three state institutions of higher learning; (2) a compulsory education law; and (3) codification of Iowa's school laws. This last demand came later in the movement than the first two.

The problem of securing increased funds needed by the three state schools is one that confronted legislators before 1900 and it has never ceased to exist in urgent form. Therefore, it is of no particular credit to Progressivism that it recognized and did something about these demands. However, some special things done at this time can be credited to Progressivism. The best example is the 1909 law which created a State Board of Education which was given control over the three state schools—the University at Iowa City, the Agricultural College at Ames, and the Teachers College at Cedar Falls.⁶⁰ The Thirty-fourth General Assembly in 1911 extended the powers of the Board somewhat. The fixing of a definite control and responsibility over these three schools was a considerable reform in view of previous methods of controlling the policies and operation of the schools. Another item of important legislation became reality in 1913 when the Thirty-fifth General Assembly passed a law establishing the Department of Public Instruction which was to have jurisdiction over the rural, elementary, and high schools of the state.⁶¹

A big demand during the early days of the Progressive era in Iowa politics was concerned with a compulsory school law which would require parents to send their children to school until a certain level of achievement or a certain age had been reached. Demands for such a law were met in 1902 when the Twenty-ninth General Assembly passed a law which required parents to send their children to school if between the ages of seven and fourteen years.⁶² Under this law children were to be in school for a period of twelve consecutive weeks of each school year. The law was rather weak in that it did not apply to children who lived more than two miles from any school by the nearest traveled road, unless transportation at

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 1909, Chap. 170.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 1911, Chap. 132; 1913, Chap. 103.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 1902, Chap. 128. The main provisions of the law required that parents of children mentally and physically able, between the ages of seven and fourteen years, were duty-bound to send such children to school, either public, private, or parochial, or should hire a tutor.

public expense were provided. Also, violation of the law constituted only a misdemeanor with a fine ranging from three to twenty dollars for conviction per offense. Still, it was a compulsory school law, and with improvements through the years it became quite effective in fulfilling its intended purpose. In 1904 the law was amended to read "sixteen consecutive weeks" of school rather than twelve; also, the sixteen weeks were to commence after the first of September unless local school boards decided on a later date, but not later than December 5.⁶³ Nothing further was done in connection with compulsory education until 1913 when Senator Frederic Larabee introduced a bill to change the age at which children would be required to attend public school.⁶⁴ Under the provision of this amendment to the Code, all children between the ages of seven and sixteen years were required to attend school; the alternative was to have attained educational qualifications equal to those of pupils who have completed the eighth grade. The 1902 law with its 1913 amendment remains on the statute books to the present, a testimony to the thoroughness of Progressivism's workers.

Some agitation for revision and codification of the school laws had started during Governor Cummins' administration, and in 1907 a law was passed to create a commission to look into the matter.⁶⁵ However, nothing of great value was done, and the demand for codification of the school laws continued.

In 1913 several significant bills relating to the teaching profession were enacted into law. One of these required teachers to have at least twelve weeks of teacher training in order to be certified. The law was to go into effect July 1, 1915. Another law required teacher institutes to be held at least once annually, preferably on the county level. Still another bill provided for the election of county superintendents of schools.⁶⁶

Twentieth century Progressivism was also concerned with another aspect of the treatment and rights of children — that of child labor. Many con-

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1904, Chap. 116.

⁶⁴ *Senate Journal*, 1913, S. F. 79; *Laws of Iowa*, 1913, Chap. 255.

⁶⁵ *Laws of Iowa*, 1907, Chap. 222.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 1913, Chaps. 243, 225, 107. Under the provisions of the latter law, the primary duty of the county superintendent was to visit the schools of the county at least once a year and more often, if necessary. Irving H. Hart, "The Governors of Iowa as Educational Leaders, 1838 to 1949," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 54:250-55 (July, 1956), presents a summary of legislation dealing with education under Governors Cummins, Garst, and Clarke.

sidered the early employment of growing children a great abuse. An indication of the feeling of the times is given by statements taken from the pages of an Iowa newspaper the same year that Iowa received its first real child labor law:

Strange as it may seem, the statute books of Iowa contain practically no legislation on this subject [child labor]. The only laws we have are one prohibiting the employment of boys under twelve in coal mines, and another prohibiting the employment of children under sixteen around dangerous machinery.

The enactment of proper laws will work hardship in some cases, where really needy parents require the assistance of children to enable the family to get along. But it is better that the public support such needy families during the childhood of the boys and girls than that whole families should be pauperized in the future through the abuse of children now growing up. We hope the present legislature may enact a proper child labor law.⁶⁷

Two bills aimed at better regulation of the employment of children had been introduced in the Senate during the 1902 legislature, but neither had passed.⁶⁸ Two years later Cassius C. Dowell in the Senate and B. F. Cummings of Marshall County in the House introduced similar bills to regulate the employment of child labor. Again, both bills failed.⁶⁹ When the legislature met in 1906, William S. Hart of Allamakee County introduced a bill in the House which was similar to the Dowell bill of two years earlier. The Committee on Judiciary suggested a substitute, which passed both houses and became law. Provisions of this law required that no person under fourteen years of age could be employed in any mine, factory, mill, shop, or laundry, where more than eight persons were employed; no person under sixteen years of age was to be employed at any job which might injure his health and morals; girls under sixteen were not to be employed at any work which required constant standing. Those under fourteen years of age were not to be employed prior to 6:00 A. M. nor after 9:00 P. M. The penalty for violation of this act was a fine not to exceed \$100 or imprisonment for thirty days, and the enforcing agency was to be the Commissioner of Labor Statistics.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Harlan *Shelby County Republican*, Feb. 8, 1906.

⁶⁸ *Senate Journal*, 1902, S. F. 3, 229.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1904, S. F. 56; *House Journal*, 1904, H. F. 43.

⁷⁰ *House Journal*, 1906, H. F. 74; *Laws of Iowa*, 1906, Chap. 103.

The passage of this law was undoubtedly Progressivism's greatest triumph in the area of child labor legislation in Iowa, but two other items of legislation perhaps deserve mention here also. The first of these was a law passed in 1909 which provided that any officer whose duty it was to enforce the provisions of the child labor law of 1906 could demand proof of employers of the age of any child employed in their establishments.⁷¹ If such proof could not be given, the child in question would be dismissed from employment. This amendment to the original law gave enforcing agencies more authority in carrying out their duties. The second item of note came in 1913 and was a bill to establish a bureau of women and children within the Bureau of Labor to carry on the work necessary in regulating the employment of women and children.⁷² The bill did not pass, but it indicated a recognition and concern with a matter deserving of some attention and reform.

In the area of penal reform, Iowa Progressives sought to carry into action the suggestions of Governor Cummins. At the very outset, in 1902, bills were introduced to establish an industrial reformatory for women, but all failed to receive enough support for passage.⁷³ Two years later, in the Thirtieth General Assembly, Senator Warren Garst introduced a bill to provide for indeterminate sentences and to authorize the Board of Control of State Institutions to adopt and enforce rules for paroling. Although the bill passed in the Senate, it failed to receive a majority in the House. Garst also introduced a measure in the 1904 legislature to establish a reformatory for men, but this bill also failed.⁷⁴ D. C. Mott of Audubon County introduced a bill in the House which was radical for its time, for it sought to establish a juvenile court to regulate the treatment and control of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children. Not until 1915 was such a proposal enacted into law.⁷⁵

The 1906 session of the Iowa legislature dealt with another group of bills concerned with the indeterminate sentence and the establishment of reformatories, but none of them mustered enough support for passage. Once more

⁷¹ *Laws of Iowa*, 1909, Chap. 145.

⁷² *House Journal*, 1913, H. F. 117.

⁷³ *Senate Journal*, 1902, S. F. 130; *House Journal*, 1902, H. F. 21, 196.

⁷⁴ *Senate Journal*, 1904, S. F. 4, 5.

⁷⁵ *House Journal*, 1904, H. F. 397; *Supplement to Code of Iowa*, 1915, Sections 254-a15, 254-a16.

the year 1907 proved to be the year of fruition for penal reform legislation, and after a considerable struggle getting the bill passed, a law concerning the indeterminate sentence and a system of reform and parole of criminals was entered in the Code of Iowa.⁷⁶ Little more of real significance happened in the way of penal reform legislation during the time that Progressivism was riding high in Iowa.

Another significant accomplishment of Iowa Progressives was the enactment into law of provision for cities having a population of 25,000 or over to adopt the commission plan of city government.⁷⁷ This plan, commonly referred to as the "Des Moines Plan," had been adopted in the state capital the year before and seemed to be a successful way of controlling the problems of machine politics, inefficiency, and incompetency in large city administrations.

In respect to taxation, bills were introduced in every session of the Iowa legislature from 1902 to 1909 dealing with either the collection of delinquent taxes or the assessment of taxes. Two of these, each dealing with the collection of delinquent taxes, were successfully enacted into law. Undoubtedly the greatest victory in the area of taxation was achieved in 1911 with the passage of a law to establish a Tax Commission.⁷⁸ As a result of this law the powers and duties of the Executive Council with respect to taxation were shifted to this Commission, thus making for a more efficiently organized arrangement in connection with taxation matters in the state.

Efforts to amend the Iowa Constitution to allow women the right to vote had been espoused since the close of the Civil War, but resolutions and bills to that effect were either indefinitely postponed or lost by substantial majorities in the General Assembly, except for one resolution passed by the Senate in 1902 but lost in the House.⁷⁹ Woman suffrage legislation had to wait, on both the state and national level, for the close of World War I and the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

⁷⁶ *Senate Journal*, 1906, S. F. 240; 1907, S. F. 30; *House Journal*, 1906, H. F. 95, 266, 343; *Laws of Iowa*, 1907, Chap. 192.

⁷⁷ *Senate Journal*, 1907, S. F. 212; *Laws of Iowa*, 1907, Chap. 48.

⁷⁸ *House Journal*, 1902, H. F. 429; 1906, H. F. 73; 1907, H. F. 370; 1909, H. F. 96; *Senate Journal*, 1904, S. F. 216; 1906, S. F. 60; 1907, S. F. 67; *Laws of Iowa*, 1906, Chap. 53; 1909, Chap. 89; 1911, Chap. 204.

⁷⁹ J. Van Der Zee, "Proposed Constitutional Amendments in Iowa, 1857-1909," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 8:192-7 (April, 1910); *Senate Journal*, 1902, pp. 134, 269, 403.

Similarly, attempts were made from 1874 onward to amend the state Constitution so as to provide for the initiative and referendum, but with little success. Bills introduced in both 1904 and 1906 failed to pass.⁸⁰ Here, unlike the situation involving woman suffrage, the failure was so complete that the people of the state still are unable to initiate laws themselves, nor is legislation referred to them except in the case of some special money bills or amendments to the state constitution.

The problem of inebriates and methods of their detention came in for some airing during the Progressive era. In 1902 a law had been passed providing for the detention of inebriates at the hospital for the insane, but this was not a fit place for the detention of such individuals, and the feeling was that a state hospital for such people ought to be established. In 1904 legislation to that end was enacted, providing a state hospital for "dipsomaniacs, inebriates, and for those addicted to the excessive use of narcotics."⁸¹ The hospital was to be at Knoxville, and a qualified doctor was to be head of it.

Another problem was concerned with desertion and nonsupport. Bills dealing with this subject were introduced in every session of the legislature from 1902 until 1907, when a law was finally enacted which defined desertion, provided punishment for it, and permitted a husband or wife to be a witness in such cases.⁸²

A little of what might be termed labor legislation was enacted in Iowa during the Progressive period, but it was nothing really very radical for its day. As early as 1902, a bill introduced by Fred L. Maytag in the Senate, providing for the safety and comfort of factory workers, became law.⁸³ In 1904 a bill limited the hours of work of street car workers as a measure to safeguard the riding public.⁸⁴ By 1906 some Progressives were thinking about and proposing the establishment of state employment offices.⁸⁵ In 1907 bills to safeguard the traveling public by limiting the hours of work

⁸⁰ *Senate Journal*, 1904, pp. 910, 961; *House Journal*, 1904, pp. 1022-24, 1121; 1906, pp. 126, 219; Van Der Zee, "Proposed Constitutional Amendments in Iowa," 197-9.

⁸¹ *Laws of Iowa*, 1902, Chap. 93; 1904, Chap. 80.

⁸² *Senate Journal*, 1902, S. F. 80; 1904, S. F. 72; 1906, S. F. 41; 1907, S. F. 5; *House Journal*, 1902, H. F. 99; 1904, H. F. 121; 1907, H. F. 373; *Laws of Iowa*, 1907, Chap. 170.

⁸³ *Senate Journal*, 1902, S. F. 212; *Laws of Iowa*, 1902, Chap. 149.

⁸⁴ *House Journal*, 1904, H. F. 298.

⁸⁵ *Senate Journal*, 1906, S. F. 176; *House Journal*, 1906, H. F. 241.

of railroad workers were introduced.⁸⁶ Concern with what has become known as "workmen's compensation laws" was not evident in any degree until the Thirty-fifth General Assembly met in 1913, and in that particular session several bills were introduced with that as their express purpose. Although none of them was enacted into law, they indicate the increasing concern for such laws.⁸⁷

In the area of liquor laws and enforcement, considerable legislation passed during the period from 1900 to 1915. Beginning in 1904 a law defined a "bootlegger" and prescribed punishment for this crime. An important liquor measure, passed in 1907, prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquor to minors or persons intoxicated or habitually intoxicated. In 1909 a law required that town councils issue permits to sell liquor in any given place to only a limited number of people. Because there was still much violation of the liquor laws of the state, a 1911 law increased the penalty for such violation. Two items of liquor legislation in 1913 dealt with the hours that saloons could be open for business and prohibited the sale of liquor within a five-mile radius of any state educational institution.⁸⁸

Although Progressives advocated the establishment of a direct inheritance tax, nothing was done in Iowa in respect to this matter during the Progressive era. Numerous bills were introduced and passed relating to the collection of the collateral inheritance tax, but no direct inheritance tax bills seem ever to have been introduced in the Iowa legislature during this period.⁸⁹

A matter which elicited more concern was the problem of the lobbyist. Governor Cummins denounced the lobbyists in rather strong language in his inaugural address of 1902, and the public was also becoming more and more concerned. A Cedar Rapids editor, in 1907, expressed the growing feeling on the part of the public: "The thing of prime importance is, of course, to get rid of the lobbyist. He has no business on the floor of the house. The representative of any interest may have the opportunity of appearing before committees and stating his case, but he should not be per-

⁸⁶ *House Journal*, 1907, H. F. 65, 210, 56.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 1913, H. F. 281, 301; *Senate Journal*, 1913, S. F. 290.

⁸⁸ *Laws of Iowa*, 1904, Chap. 84; 1907, Chap. 122; 1909, Chap. 142; 1911, Chap. 102; 1913, Chaps. 193, 194.

⁸⁹ See *House Journals*, *Senate Journals*, and *Laws of Iowa*, 1900-1913.

mitted to pester the members when the house is in session.”⁹⁰ Unfortunately, the Governor’s admonition and public opinion seemed not enough, for although bills were introduced in 1907 and 1911, nothing in the way of concrete legislation followed.⁹¹

The Progressive legislatures did not pass laws on all subjects needing reform, but the amount and character of legislation enacted was considerable. Viewed in the light of modern-day experience, the “fruits” of Progressivism in Iowa would be nothing to become concerned or alarmed about, even by the most conservative politician of today, for the reforms enacted are now commonplace and taken for granted by most citizens. Yet, judged by the standards of the day when they were enacted, these reforms were definitely liberal, and in some instances, even radical. In a day when corporate influence and wealth wielded great power and ignored the sovereignty of the people over them, it was not only radical but actually daring and courageous to protest and seek to act to limit and change this situation.

Progressivism “was in spirit and purpose a protest against organized selfishness,”⁹² which manifested itself in the gobbling up of political power and wealth with no regard for the people, who in reality made it possible for these forces to exist in the first place. Progressivism was a vigorous movement, with a definite purpose, but it was up against equally vigorous forces that were fighting to preserve the status quo with as much conviction and fervor as the forces of Progressivism held for reform and change. However, Progressivism was also a popular state of mind — a public sentiment for change and reform — and as it grew in strength, the forces of conservatism aligned against it found that they could not withstand it in all quarters, and reforms were obtained.

By 1915 this Progressive impulse had been satisfied to some degree and was also being replaced in Iowa, as well as in the rest of the nation, by a growing concern and interest in the war in Europe. With America’s entrance into the war, the Progressive sentiment became dormant, to be revived again in the 1930’s, at which time its leaders and spokesmen came chiefly from within the Democratic party.

The significant thing, it would seem, is what Progressivism in Iowa ac-

⁹⁰ Cedar Rapids *Gazette*, quoted in *Waterloo Daily Courier*, Jan. 24, 1907.

⁹¹ *House Journal*, 1907, H. F. 25; 1911, H. F. 557.

⁹² *Spirit Lake Beacon*, Mar. 9, 1906.

complished and how lasting its accomplishments have been. Most of the legislation enacted in Iowa during the Progressive era, 1900 to 1915, still remains on the statute books of the state. Many of the laws remain as their authors wrote them, and others remain but in an amended form — usually amended so as to secure greater reforms. Also, many of the reforms which Progressivism failed to bring to fruition have since become law.

Judged by what it actually accomplished, directly or indirectly, Progressivism would seem undeniably to have been a success in Iowa. The people of Iowa were free from the domination of their government by corporate influence; they were given the power to choose candidates through the operation of a primary election law; their schools, under an improved educational system, made Iowa one of the most literate states in the Union; their children's health and morals were protected by child labor laws; their penal system became superior to that which existed before 1900; they were guaranteed that foods and drugs sold within the state would not be adulterated or poisonous; they were given compensation when unemployed and assistance in their old age; and they were free of other manifestations of the "organized selfishness" which had become so intolerable near the turn of the century.

DOCUMENT

THREE GOLD RUSH LETTERS OF ADONIJAH STRONG WELCH

*Edited by William H. Hermann**

These letters, originally published in the *Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette* in 1850, were written by a young man of obvious culture and with a keen insight into the impact Americans would have on southern California. In addition, the letters describe a route not frequently followed to California by the "forty-niners." Most significant, they shed some light on a phase of the life of a man who was destined to become a nationally famous educator and an outstanding Iowan.

Adonijah Strong Welch, born in Connecticut in 1821, moved to Michigan about 1839. He received the bachelor of arts degree from the University of Michigan in 1846, then studied law and was admitted to the bar, but did not practice. Turning from law to education in 1847, he accepted the principalship of the Union School in Jonesville, Michigan. This marked the beginning of a long career as a teacher and educational administrator. In 1849, like so many others, he caught the gold fever, left his job, and was "off for California."

After returning to Michigan in 1852, he received his master's degree and was made the first principal of Michigan State Normal School at Ypsilanti. He remained in this position until 1865 when he went to Florida for his health. Here he engaged in business and was elected to the United States Senate for a short term (1868-1869).

The following year Welch was selected for the presidency of Iowa State College at Ames. Inaugurated on March 17, 1869, he had the honor of becoming the first president of that institution. During his administration he did much to develop the physical plant of the college, and he himself laid out much of the campus. But his most important contribution was his service as a pioneer in the field of agricultural education. He resigned in 1883

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because of ill health and was sent abroad by the United States Commissioner of Agriculture to report on agricultural schools in Germany, Belgium, and England. Upon his return the following year he taught history and psychology at Ames until his death in 1889.¹

ROVER'S CAMP, Utah Valley,
Aug. 30, 1849.²

My Dear Friend:

I write in great haste, by a man who starts with the mail this afternoon for the Salt Lake City, sixty miles North of us. We have been in camp here three weeks, and shall continue *in eodem loco* until October, when we shall take the Southern route, which is impassable in the summer. We expected to have continued from the Mormon city [on] the Northern trail,³ which intersects Fremont's trail a hundred miles West of Fort Hall, but a report of the condition of affairs induced us to change our plans. A man who has taken "Sublette's cut off," and turned off the road far beyond Fort Hall,⁴ entered the valley soon after us. From him, and from others who followed him, we learn that the road, for a hundred miles before he reached the Fort, and as far beyond as he went, was impracticable — being so obstructed with dead cattle as to admit no passage for waggon[sic]. On this account,

¹ See biographical sketch of Welch by A. B. Noble in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 19:617-18; Michigan Historical Commission, *Michigan Biographies* (2 vols., Lansing, 1924), 2:421.

² *Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette*, Jan. 17, 1850. The writer, identified only by initials in this letter, was described as "a member of the highest standing of the class which graduated from the University of Michigan in 1846."

³ In taking the northern overland route to California, Welch was following the path most commonly used by the "forty-niners." He and his friends had evidently selected either the Mormon route or the Oregon-California trail to Salt Lake City. Since they came from Michigan, they probably went to St. Joseph or to Council Bluffs, then called Kanessville. Most Middle Westerners selected one of these two jumping-off places because they were closer to home and further advanced along the northern trail. The change in plans necessitated following the Old Spanish Trail, one of the southwestern trails to California. See maps in Archer Butler Hulbert, *Forty-Niners: The Chronicle of the California Trail* (Boston, 1931), 2, 13, 46, 82, 114, 118, 152; Ralph P. Bieber, "The Southwestern Trails to California," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 12:242, 366, 368-9 (December, 1925).

⁴ The "forty-niners" on the northern overland route generally followed the Oregon Trail along the Platte River to Fort Laramie, where a halt was made to rest both themselves and their livestock; to make necessary repairs to their wagons; and occasionally to buy additional supplies. Welch, in a subsequent letter, indicates that he

two new trails had been made, which were but little better. He was never out of sight of loaded waggons, which had been abandoned, and men, women and children were plodding on a-foot to California, eight hundred miles distant. The grass was entirely consumed, so that no animal could live. Still many have bid defiance to danger, and driven on their worn-out oxen, expecting to make the journey of 800 miles before the middle of October, when the winter snows set in and block up the passage of the "Sierra." The Mormons, better acquainted with the road pronounce it madness.⁵ . . .

The "Southern trail" strikes the coast six hundred miles South of the mines. It is 800 [miles] from this valley to the coast. We think we shall make this long journey on horses, provided we can get the requisite number (eighteen) in exchange for our oxen and waggons, before October. My own, a fine black mare, has entirely recovered from the wound inflicted by the horn of an old Buffalo, that I shot from her back. Our provisions will carry us to the Sacramento. All our clothing, except a pair of extra pants, three extra shirts, a coat, a hat, and one pair of boots, apiece, is to be left in lieu of horses. Many emigrants have given as high as \$200 for a good

was at the fort. From here they traveled on through the famous South Pass and crossed the Rocky Mountains. The Mormon Trail more or less paralleled the Platte River-South Pass route, except that it took the north bank rather than the south bank of the Platte. From Fort Bridger it cut directly to Great Salt Lake. The Oregon Trail, on the other hand, swung northwest to Fort Hall. After leaving the latter place, the gold seekers passed well north of Great Salt Lake and then turned southward branching off on to what was the California Trail. Sublette's Cutoff, which Welch mentions, eliminated the better watered Fort Bridger detour by crossing the Green River Basin almost directly to Bear River, Wyoming. It was over fifty miles shorter but extremely dry.

⁵ Persons who arrived at Salt Lake City late in the season were warned by the Mormons not to continue on the northern route because of the great danger of being trapped in the mountains by snow. The Mormons urged them to take a southern trail which was not likely to be obstructed by snow in the winter months. The route suggested was the misnamed "Old Spanish Trail," a mule trail which connected Salt Lake City with Los Angeles. Welch was not the only one advised to take this route. A Wisconsin gold seeker, James Wasley, who arrived at Salt Lake City late in the season, was warned by the Mormons not to continue on the northern trail but to take a new route further south. Although being aware of the danger of being trapped in the snow, Wasley decided to proceed over the traditional Oregon-California trail. A company of eight men was organized to trade their wagons and oxen for horses and mules in order to make better time and get across the mountains before October. James Wasley to his brother, Oct. 21, 1849, in Mineral Point *Wisconsin Tribune*, Mar. 1, 1850; Bieber, "The Southwestern Trails to California," 368-9. Chauncey Swan of Iowa City took this southern route in 1849. See Mildred Throne (ed.), "Letters of a Forty-Niner," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 47:63-77 (January, 1949).

horse — others give two yoke of oxen and a waggon. An ox waggon can hardly be given away, while flour is \$10 a hundred, and bacon \$12.

The Salt Lake Valley is about eighty miles long by fifty in width, and enclosed on all sides by very high mountains. We entered it after a fatiguing journey of nearly three months, without seeing a human habitation. Great was our relief at beholding the settlement of the persecuted Mormons. Even corn fields and sheaves of wheat never possessed such beauty in my eyes before, and every thought associated with them came rushing at once into my mind as we descended into the beautiful valley. The city is regularly laid out in lots of an acre and a half, with wide streets. On a bird's eye view, it looks like one immense wheat field, dotted here and there with low black huts made of sun burnt bricks, which the Mormons call "dobeys." I suppose, from the Spanish word "*adobe's*." The population, I am told is ten thousand and rapidly increasing; in twenty years it will be a beautiful city. I have become acquainted with some of the leading men, who seem to be honest and well meaning, but of limited education, and exceedingly bigoted in the peculiarities of their religion. Their sufferings, which have been far greater than I supposed, add another to the thousand proofs the world's history exhibits, that men will cling to a crotchet in religion, and carry it to the stake, while they are ready to persecute to the death all whose doctrines differ essentially from their own.

Nearly South lies the Utah Valley, fifty miles by ten, surrounded by steep mountains that are whitened by perpetual snows, and towering far above the volume of clouds which roll along their rugged sides. Extending through the whole length of the valley lies the Utah lake, into which run from the mountains the purest streams. In these, if we wish to waste an hour in angling, are fine speckled trout, weighing from three to five pounds. Game abounds in the mountains, where is found the grizzly [*sic*] bear. When tired of these pursuits, I read Shakespeare or gaze on the sublime scenery on every side of us.

This valley is settled by about forty Mormon families, who live in a Fort built for protection against the Utah Indians, who, however, are not dangerous. We came here on account of better grass for our cattle, and the chance of getting horses from the Indians, which we hope to accomplish by a trading expedition to the mountains. We are encamped on the bank of a small stream in the Southern part of the valley, about a mile from the Fort.

I cannot regret leaving Michigan, dear as it is to me the home of my

adoption, and the friends I may never meet again, for I have entirely recovered my health, and you know what I have suffered from dyspepsia. But I tell you *inter nos*, I have seen some hard times since I left you. Not what the mountaineers call hard times, for anything short of starvation is of little account with them — but the change of life — of habits formed from infancy — of diet — of employment — of associates — of everything which goes to make up our duties and enjoyments, has resulted occasionally in a few passages, which, without any disposition to complain, I think I may indeed call “hard times.”

I ought not, however, to omit the pleasure of the jaunt. With the best of appetites, we have plenty of hard bread and bacon, the principal food of the “*voyageur*,” to satisfy them. If we travelled during the day until we were exhausted, we rested with the greater satisfaction on our field beds at night. Occasionally some “startling event,” as the killing of a Buffalo, or a stampede among our cattle, would relieve the tedium of our long drives, and then followed days of long marches over sandy roads, with wretched water, and short feed for the wretched worn-out oxen. The last fifty miles before we reached Salt Lake exhibited many curiosities of scenery. We travelled through deep *canons* in which we saw the sun only a small part of the day, owing to the precipitous rocks which rise to an immense height on each side of the road.

Our long journey has wrought amusing changes in our personal appearance. If you saw me, as I now sit on the ground with my portfolio before me you would hardly recognize me; and if you did, would be unwilling, I fear, to acknowledge your *quondam* acquaintance. A slouched hat, the worse for wear, and a pair of moccassins [*sic*] set off the extremities of “*caput et calces*,” and in addition a red flannel shirt, and a pair of sheep’s gray’s complete your friend’s toilet. His face shows none of the pallor of the student or the sickliness of lean disease, but is full and sunburnt, and covered with a beard of three months’ growth, in which tinges of pale yellow and white struggle for the mastery, the yellow on the whole predominating. But the change is in his person alone. His feelings, attachments, principles and prejudices remain unchanged.

Write to San Francisco. Since we left home we have had no tidings from there, and a few words of news would be an intense relief to our at times almost sickening anxiety.

Yours, &c.

A. S. W.

Rancho del Chino,
500 miles south of San Francisco,
March 1, 1850.⁶

MY DEAR FELLOW:

The intervals between my letters are so long that I can only give you a brief and imperfect account of myself during the period since I last wrote. I sent you three missives while on the road — one from Ft. Laramie,⁷ containing an extract from my journal, for publication; another by the Mormon mail, which I met on the road; and a third from Utah Valley, which is fifty miles south of Salt Lake. From this last point we started about the middle of October, with a company of a hundred waggons, to open a new road to the southern part of California, by way of the Spanish Trail;⁸ and thus avoid the dangers of the northern route.

A regular company was formed and two gentlemen with myself, were appointed to draft a constitution, under which Capt. Baxter⁹ was elected

⁶ *Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette*, Apr. 19, 1850. The Rancho del Chino was situated on the southern route to California near Los Angeles. It was owned by Colonel Isaac Williams who acquired it through his wife. A hunter and trapper, Williams came to California about 1832 with Ewing Young's band of trappers. Remaining in California, he became a naturalized citizen of Mexico and married Maria de Lugo. Williams was extremely hospitable, and during the Gold Rush a great many immigrants, many of whom were in distress, stopped with him and obtained aid. Grant Foreman (ed.), *A Pathfinder in the Southwest: The Itinerary of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple . . . in the years 1853 & 1854* (Norman, Okla., 1941), 275-6, n. 10; Ralph P. Bieber (ed.), *Southern Trails to California in 1849* (Vol. 5, *Southwest Historical Series*, Glendale, Calif., 1937), 276, n. 213; Robert Glass Cleland, *Pathfinders* (Los Angeles, 1929), 273; J. Gregg Layne, "Annals of Los Angeles," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 13:215 (September, 1934).

⁷ A painstaking search through all Wisconsin newspapers failed to reveal the first two letters referred to by Welch. Possibly they were never received. More likely, they were received but not sent to a newspaper for publication. If turned in for publication, it is possible that the editor did not see sufficient news value in them, particularly since the writer was from Michigan. Many letters written by "Badger forty-niners" were turned over for publication and naturally would have had greater local appeal.

⁸ The so-called "Old Spanish Trail" was an extension of the one from Santa Fe to Salt Lake City that Fremont had traveled in 1844. It passed "through Abiquiú and northwest down the Dolores and across Grand and Green Rivers, thence west to the Sevier, and southwest to the Virgin and Mohave Rivers and through Cajon Pass to Los Angeles. . . . The Old Spanish Trail, properly so-called led to the Great Basin only, and was developed as a result of the Spanish trade with the Yutas." J. Joseph Hill, "The Old Spanish Trail," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 4:444 (August, 1921); Bieber, "Southwestern Trails to California," 368-9.

⁹ Welch and Henry Baxter probably became acquainted in Jonesville, Michigan, as they were both residing there at the time of the California Gold Rush. Baxter in

Colonel, and I received a request to keep a journal, which it was the intention of the company to present to Congress for publication.¹⁰ The whole scheme terminated disastrously; the result showing it to be impossible that large companies should travel together on desert roads. We spent seven weeks in making a distance of two hundred and fifty miles, and the company broke up, seven waggons pursuing the old Spanish trail, and the rest, our waggons among the number, turning due west into the unexplored regions lying near the river of the Great Basin. The deviation proved most unfortunate. We had divided into small divisions of ten waggons each, and after spending three weeks in vainly endeavoring to find a passage through the mountains to Walker's pass,¹¹ a part of us returned to the Spanish trail, leaving thirty waggons of which we have not since heard the slightest tidings. The presumption is, that their owners have either starved, or perished in the snow.¹²

his early life was associated with his father in keeping a store and a mill. After his California adventures he returned to Jonesville, and sometime before the Civil War began he organized the Jonesville "Light Guards." When hostilities opened he entered the conflict as a captain, was commissioned a colonel in 1862, a brigadier general of volunteers in 1863, and was mustered out of the army in 1865 with the brevet of major general of volunteers. He died in Jonesville in 1873. See biographical sketch by Edmund Kimball Alden in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 2:62.

¹⁰ The journal was never turned over to Congress, and there is no record of it in the Library of Congress. Louise G. Caton, secretary of the Library of Congress, to William H. Hermann, Feb. 7, 1938.

¹¹ This pass is located at the southern extremity of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. It was discovered by Joseph Reddeford Walker, a mountain man, who was in the service of Captain Benjamin J. E. Bonneville, a regular army officer on leave from 1831 to 1832 to engage in a trading venture of his own. The enterprise proved unprofitable and in 1832, to recoup his fortunes, Bonneville divided his company. Walker, one of his principal lieutenants, was placed in command of an expedition to trap and explore the territory in and beyond the valley of the Great Salt Lake. He and his men, after suffering many hardships, entered California. On the return journey in 1834 they did not retrace their trail but passed through a gap, on the south slope of the Sierra, which today is appropriately named Walker's Pass. Francis P. Farquhar, "Exploration of the Sierra Nevada," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 4:6-8 (March, 1925); Douglas Sloane Watson, *West Wind: The Life Story of Joseph Reddeford Walker, Knight of the Golden Horseshoe* (Los Angeles, 1934), 20-22, 38, 44-7, 68, 70; Robert Glass Cleland, *This Reckless Breed of Men: The Trappers and Fur Traders of the Southwest* (New York, 1950), 277-301.

¹² Before 1849 the Old Spanish Trail had been traveled only by pack trains. The Wisconsin emigrant, James Wasley, claimed that only one wagon had been taken through this route and that at one place it had to be let down a descent piece by piece with ropes. Wasley suspected that the Mormons were urging emigrants to take this trail to trick them into breaking a wagon road and refused to attempt it. James Wasley to brother, Oct. 21, 1849, Mineral Point *Wisconsin Tribune*, Mar. 1,

Shortly previous to our return, Baxter (our captain) was taken violently ill with the mountain fever, and for three weeks afterwards his life was despaired of. To stop on the road was starvation; and we were obliged to keep constantly moving on. By the aid of a good constitution and the kind attention of Doct. Ormsby,¹³ of Ann Arbor, he survived. The fatigues incident to the constant watching which his illness required, brought an attack of the same character upon me. I saved myself, however, a run of the fever by a timely dose of calomel;¹⁴ but a low intermittent fever set in and continued the rest of the journey. The last four hundred miles consisted of deserts, with water and grass at intervals of from thirty to fifty miles. We were compelled to drive over each of these deserts without halting, and sometimes travelled two days, and the intervening night without sleep. Such hardships were scarcely endurable to those who were well, and you will imagine the sufferings of the sick. Often in the height of the fever, while under a depression of spirits, which I could not control did I think of the warning of Mrs. ——— “You will be sick and among strangers, with no one to sympathize or relieve your sufferings.” The limits of one letter will not permit more detail, but I cannot forbear

1850. As a matter of fact, severe hardships were encountered by the emigrants who attempted to take their wagons through, for the trail led in and out of precipitous canyons and across alkali deserts. Welch was most fortunate in getting back to the Old Spanish Trail after his unsuccessful attempt to find a shorter route. A group of emigrants who left the trail near Mountain Meadow in southwestern Utah, with the same motive as Welch, lost their way and met with great difficulties. Some of them perished in the desert of southern California which thereafter became known as Death Valley. Bieber, “Southwestern Trails to California,” 369.

¹³ Dr. Caleb N. Ormsby was the first physician in Adrian, Michigan. From here he moved to Ann Arbor. Welch might have met him at the latter place when he was attending the University of Michigan. In 1849 Ormsby had financial difficulties and decided to join in the rush for California. Possibly he, Baxter, and Welch came together from Michigan. At any rate, Ormsby, like Welch, stayed over at Salt Lake City and went to California via the Old Spanish Trail, arriving at Los Angeles in 1850. Not successful as a miner, Ormsby decided to return to Ann Arbor in 1856 via Panama. After crossing the Isthmus he took passage on the *Central American*. Unfortunately, the ship was lost at sea off Cape Hatteras. A. L. Millard, “Historical Sketch of Lenawee County,” *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 1:230 (1877); John J. Adams, “Early History of Lenawee County,” *ibid.*, 2:378 (1880); William H. Cross, “A Pioneer Sketch,” *ibid.*, 2:431-2 (1880).

¹⁴ Calomel was monochloride of mercury, a purgative widely used in the nineteenth century particularly for malarial fevers. Madge E. Pickard and Carlyle R. Buley, *The Midwest Pioneer: His Ills, Cures & Doctors* (Crawfordsville, Indiana, 1945), 103-106.

giving you an idea of that dreary journey by narrating the events of one day.

We were crossing a spur of the mountains about 250 miles from the termination of our tour. The ascent had occupied the whole day — the distance being about two miles, through snow a foot deep. At night we found ourselves two miles from the summit, and of course, without water, or grass for cattle. It was intensely cold. The company determined to drive on through the pass, expecting to find a valley beyond, at a distance of six or eight miles, and containing [an] abundance of water and grass. Two teams, however, had given out, and could not proceed. I had ridden my mule all day, the oxen being too weak for me to ride on the waggon; my fever was high, and the circulation in my hands and feet had stopped from cold. I felt that I could not proceed farther, and obtained permission to stop over night in one of the waggons, while the rest of the Rovers advanced to the valley.

The next morning I mounted my half-starved mule and started to rejoin the company, which I supposed to be six or eight miles ahead. At the summit, the mule gave out and refused to carry me. I dismounted and drove him before me six miles down the descent, and reached the foot of the mountain nearly exhausted. But no waggons were in sight. A valley free from snow, stretched twenty miles before me. The teams had not found water and had travelled all night towards the extremity of the valley.

There was no alternative for me, but to lie down in the snow, or try to walk forward. My pulse was beating a hundred a minute, from the fever, and I was suffering from a morbid thirst. This I tried to allay by drinking from the tracks of the oxen, the dirty pools of melted snow which had gathered there. To add to my distress, I knew that parties of the Pah Utah Indians¹⁵ were roaming about, who butchered every straggler they met. I should have regarded myself safe, if I had taken a pistol, but I had not even a pocket knife. Mustering all my strength, I started, and by greater exertions than I ever made before, at last reached the waggons, a distance of twenty five miles from the summit.

¹⁵ Welch's fears were shared by other immigrants regarding the Pah Utah or Piute Indians. Walter Van Dyke, an immigrant from Cleveland, Ohio, who was following the same route, characterized them "as a marauding and savage tribe . . . and seek every opportunity to waylay and massacre small parties or stragglers." Quoted in Owen Cochran Coy, *The Great Trek* (Los Angeles, 1931), 267-8.

Such was one day, and we encountered many more of equal hardship. Some 800 miles back in the desert, our provisions grew short and we were on close rations about three weeks. In one night twenty men had their feet frozen in the snow and were crippled for the rest of the way. — On the Mohave river we met a Pack Train bringing provisions to our relief, and once more we had bread enough; and I can assure you it was appreciated. At last we crossed the southern range of the Sierra, and after being ten months on the road reached *California*.

Well! what kind of a country is it? Your opportunities for learning the facts in reference to Alta California are as good, where you are, as mine, but so far as I have been able to judge, *Lower California* is the most beautiful country, with the finest climate in the world. But its inhabitants, who are principally Spaniards and Indians, are in a state of semi-barbarism, and consequently its resources are to a certain extent undeveloped. The land, which is generally level and of the richest quality, is divided into Ranchos or plantations; the largest of which are twenty miles square, and feed twenty or thirty thousand head of wild cattle, with horses and mules in proportion. But these are all. The arts are in the lowest state imaginable. Their houses are mere pens without floors — their plows are pointed logs; their yokes a straight stick they tie to the horns of their oxen; and every implement of industry shows an equal want of ingenuity and enterprise. They are too indolent to raise much grain, though the soil will yield, I am told, eighty bushels of wheat to the acre; consequently, wheat is sold to the immigrants at \$3 per bushel, while the finest beef cattle in the world bring from \$8 to \$10 per head. Butter, cheese and even milk, you cannot obtain at all, for they are too lazy to tame their cows. A few Americans who own large Ranchos, have American plows, and are doing better than the rest. — Many Ranchos have been abandoned and their owners have gone to the mines.

This state of things the energetic Anglo-Saxon will soon change. The immigration for the next few years will be immense, and the whole country will yield to American customs. The large Ranchos will be cut up into farms, and their products will supply the wants of a dense population. Property will rapidly change hands, and it will be easy for the shrewd Yankee to reap the benefit of the change. The mineral wealth of this country has not been over-rated. Two new Placers, it is reported, have been opened in Tulare valley, one of which is within two hundred miles of this

Rancho. To this, I shall proceed, if an exploration in which I am about to engage, should fail. But I must hasten to write a few words of my "*plans and prospects*," and then close.

The Rovers, finding that a joint stock company is not the "thing" for this country, have dissolved, and each gone on his way rejoicing. — Baxter and I shall work together, and the little means which a long journey has left, will be sufficient to establish us at the mines, *should we go there*. We have been in California about three weeks. While on our way to the Mission San Gabriel,¹⁶ where we expect to stop for a time to recruit our animals, we stopped at the Rancho of Col. Williams, an American, and immensely wealthy.¹⁷ He was privately fitting out a small company to go back on the desert, 150 miles, and examine a spot where gold had been found. I received private proposals to go as Mineralogist, which I have accepted. Some pieces of gold have been shown to me — two were as large as a pea, and imbedded in a matrix of pure white quartz. From the accounts given, I cannot but have high hopes, and if we succeed, our fortune is made; if not, I shall return in the course of three weeks, and proceed north with Baxter to the mines. — He is not quite well yet, and will rest at the Mission until I return or send back for him. We start to-morrow, with six men and twelve mules. There is some little danger from the Indians, but I have learned to despise them. I am in good health and fine spirits. The great object for which I came to this country is already attained. I shall work

¹⁶ Welch probably followed the Mohave River, to which he referred early in this letter, to the San Bernardino Mountains, crossing through the "San Bernardino canyon" (Cajon Pass) and arriving at San Gabriel Mission. In following this suggested route he would have been tracing the footsteps in part of the route taken by the Armijo expedition to California in 1829-1830. This was a company of some sixty Mexican traders under the command of Antonio Armijo. They succeeded in opening a road from New Mexico to California by a route north of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. Hill, "The Old Spanish Trail," 465-6.

¹⁷ Estimates of Colonel Isaac Williams' wealth vary, but it is obvious that he was extremely prosperous. After acquiring the Rancho del Chino or Rancho Santa Ana del Chino by his marriage, he enlarged it to about 35,000 acres and in a few years had some 30,000 head of cattle. In 1847 it was claimed that the annual slaughter of 2,500 steers yielded him an income of \$30,000. Foreman, *Pathfinder in the Southwest*, 275-6, n. 10. The correspondent of the New York *Herald*, writing from the ranch on August 24, 1849, said it "was a splendid property, comprising 63,000 acres of the best land in the universe. Almost everything is, or can be raised here. . . . The colonel has, in his fields about 20,000 head of horned cattle, 1,000 horses, several hundred mules, and sheep without limitation." Quoted in Bieber (ed.), *Southern Trails to California in 1849*, 276, n. 213.

hard during the next two years. I have spent a few days at Col. Williams' request, examining some springs of Naptha or Bituminous tar, on his land. Found Petroleum in immense quantities. I think bituminous coal will be found there. I have sent an account of it to San Francisco for publication.

A. S. W.

STOCKTON, California,

June 30th 1850.¹⁸

DEAR W.:

I have an opportunity to send you another epistle, and a few minutes to write it. — I have written several letters since I left the States, but have not as yet received one word in reply; indeed, for more than a year I have not obtained a single item of intelligence *from any one* in the States, though I have frequently sent to San Francisco per express for that purpose.

My last (which if I recollect was a long letter), gave you an account of my arrival at Williams' Rancho, in lower California. It was written about the middle of February, and soon after, I started with a party of seven, to explore in a desert which extends some two hundred miles beyond the Sierra Nevada, for gold, of which a little had been discovered by one of the emigrants who came in on the old Spanish trail from Santa Fe. In three weeks we opened a vein of quartz containing the precious "ore," but it did not prove sufficiently rich to warrant continued operations, especially as there was no water or grass in the vicinity. We took back, however, a few ounces. I obtained some beautiful specimens of gold in the matrix, which, if I live to return east, I shall present to the University.

On our return from beyond the Sierra, Baxter and I, with three others, started North for the Mariposa diggings — some four hundred miles distant, by way of the Tulare Valley. High rivers, and a few explorations on the road caused so much delay, that we did not reach Mariposa until the 1st of June. We had lost nothing, however, by delay. The gold rivers, which are kept high by snows melting on the mountains, are not sufficiently low for successful operations until the 1st of Aug., and the proper season for digging is during the four subsequent months. Finding that men were averaging no more than \$3 or \$4 per day, with hard work on any of the rivers, we kept journeying north until we arrived at this place where I have

¹⁸ Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, Sept. 25, 1850.

since remained *cum nullo negotio*. To-morrow I shall start alone with provisions and tools for the Merced River — some 60 miles south, where, if I can [find] a good location, I shall remain through the season, and employ perhaps two or three Spaniards. I have paid some attention to the Spanish language and can converse in it without much difficulty.

So much in brief for my “labores,” and now, my dear fellow, what shall I say for my-self? — If I were seated face to face with you, *how I could talk*; but the narrow limits of a hasty letter embarrasses me. I am not discouraged but lonely. For a whole year I have been without the comforts of life — without congenial society, and without the means of improvement. Under such circumstances man always degenerates; but I have as yet contracted none of the wide-spreading vices of California. I neither swear, drink, nor play “Monte”; yet thousands who held a respectable position in the States have sunk to the lowest degradation by these vices. I give you a true picture of the American position of society in California, when I say that gamblers, swindlers and *prostitutes* form its aristocracy. — With this fact before you, the rest can be easily imagined. Stockton contains about five thousand inhabitants, and has obtained most of its growth this Spring. Yesterday, which was Sunday, the gambling houses of which there are three, were crowded to overflowing, and fortunes were rapidly changing hands. High above each of those schools of infamy floats a flag, with the stars and stripes. At one end of the town a horse-race was thickly attended, while the Circus was in full tilt at the other. I found a little company of fifty men and two or three women at church, listening to the preaching of the Gospel, and gladly joined them, thus renewing the associations of other and better days.¹⁹

I have not yet made my “pile,” but hope to dig two or three thousand this summer, and as much next winter, teaching English to the Spaniards; shall perhaps employ one or two this season to dig for me. The mines, in general, are a great humbug. Perhaps one man in ten is successful; his success forms the criterion by which the “diggings” are judged in the States. — A few will return rich, many with barely sufficient to take them home. If you were here I should study the Mexican laws of conveyancing, and we would set up in South California with the certainty of success. As it is, I think I shall return home next Spring.

Yours, &c., A. S. WELCH

¹⁹ Welch was deeply religious throughout all of his life.

SOURCE MATERIAL OF IOWA HISTORY

JAMES S. CLARKSON'S LETTER ON ALLISON'S 1872 ELECTION

[James S. Clarkson, editor of the Des Moines *Iowa State Register* from 1870 to 1891, is one of the most colorful figures in Iowa journalism and politics. In 1909 he was Surveyor of the Port of New York, a political appointment he had held since 1902. Although a resident of the East since his retirement from the *Register* in 1891, Clarkson never lost his interest in Iowa nor in the paper he had made famous. Thus, when he ran across an article about the 1872 senatorial election in Iowa which was historically incorrect, he promptly wrote a long letter to Editor Harvey Ingham, setting the record straight. Ingham published the letter in the Sunday issue of the *Register and Leader*, January 24, 1909, and prefaced it with some reminiscences of Clarkson and his famous and illegible handwriting, which had led to his nickname, "Ret," since he marked all his copy to the printers "Ret [return] Clarkson," so that he could check their interpretation of his hasty scrawls. Readers of Leland L. Sage's *William Boyd Allison*, published by the Society in 1956, will find this Clarkson letter of special interest.]

"RET" CLARKSON WRITES OF IOWA POLITICS AND IOWA MEN

Writing for the readers of *The Register and Leader*, "Ret" Clarkson today tells something of the Harlan-Allison senatorial contest of 1871-'72, and relates the story of the differences of opinion held by his father, C. F. Clarkson, and himself with respect to that fight, which led to the purchase by James S. and Richard P. Clarkson of their father's interest in *The Iowa State Register*. . . .

In his letter to *The Register and Leader*, Mr. Clarkson seeks to keep history straight with respect to the famous senatorial fight of 1871-'72. . . . He closes his letter with a deprecatory reference to his chirography which he fears has not improved with passing years. . . .

Henry Uetz, C. E. Anderson, E. J. Hess, J. H. Hodgson, John Fogarty

and John Nicholas are among the men who are attaches [sic] of The Register and Leader who had to do with Mr. Clarkson's "copy" in the period of his connection with The Register.

"Ret" Clarkson wrote his own "copy." His brother in later years adopted the typewriting machine. The printers shied at the former's copy, and the tradition is that a strike resulted from its illegibility, the outcome being an agreement to pay the printers who set the type from his copy "price and a half," that is, 50 per cent more than they received for putting other copy into type. So it came about that for those who familiarized themselves with Mr. Clarkson's writing his copy was "phat."

The printers had a habit of complaining to "Dick" Clarkson about the copy. He never sympathized with their view. "He sends me down lots of notes," he would say, "and I can read it all right." But he never objected to the extra price paid for setting the type from his brother's copy.

It is related among the printers that one time a deaf and dumb printer who was tramping, and was also a musician, drew a "take" of Mr. Clarkson's copy one day, and for five or ten minutes was observed not to be working while standing at his case.

"What's the matter?" wrote Foreman Uetz on a piece of proof paper.

The printer dejectedly pointed his stick at the copy.

"Can't you read it?" wrote the foreman.

"Read it!" wrote the printer. "Read nothing; but if I had my flute here I could play it."

But when these editorials appeared in the newspapers they made their author celebrated.

Mr. Clarkson had the habit of writing so rapidly that he did not have time to move his hand back from the right to the left side of the sheet of paper. The result was that while the first line was a long one clear across the page, the lines gradually grew shorter, until the last one consisted of a single word, often, in the right hand lower corner of the sheet. This added to the difficulties of the printers because they were unable frequently to get more than a part of a single sentence on one sheet of the copy. Three sheets of the copy would average about ten lines of type.

And so, when the printers saw the letter written by Mr. Clarkson recently they smiled when they noted his allusion to his handwriting. They do not agree with him that it has not improved with the passing years.

"My introduction to 'Ret' Clarkson's 'copy' on The Iowa State Register

was in 1877," said Henry Uetz last night. "It should not be forgotten that he really is a good penman. I have seen letters written by him that were splendid specimens of penmanship. But his 'copy' to the compositors on The Register as a rule was 'the worst I ever saw.' He could furnish more 'copy' in less time than any editor I know of. The later he wrote in the night for the morning issue, the harder it was to read. The compositors did not like to 'set it up,' but as an extra price was paid for 'setting it up,' the compositor who could read it best made a larger 'string.' Many a compositor on The Register 'jumped cases' — that is, quit — because he did not have the patience and perseverance to decipher it with the aid of a fellow compositor. Many of the old-time printers prided themselves because they could read 'Ret's' copy to some extent and were able to have a fairly good 'proof' considering the copy.

"Printers of those days who were accustomed to read copy furnished by such men as Horace Greeley, Henry Watterson of the Louisville Courier-Journal, and other noted editors, used to say that 'Ret's' beat them all. Many a page of 'Ret' copy is kept as a souvenir by the old-time printer, and the possessor of it is about the only person that can read it except 'Ret.'

"A printer once accustomed to read the copy felt slighted if he did not get several 'takes' of his copy during the night. When 'Ret' was out of the city the printers thought the paper was dead and flavorless.

"Ret's' copy always had the preference, and many a local reporter had to wait hours for 'proof' of his matter, so he could read it. Many and many a time 'Ret' furnished more copy than all the other editors and reporters combined for a single issue of the paper. Printers in those days were glad of it, for it always meant a bigger day's wages.

"The night that Grant died, July 23, 1885, I was 'on the forms,' and the two inside pages always went to press at 11 p. m. The Register in those days was a four-page paper. After they had gone to the pressroom 'Ret' 'whistled upstairs' that 'Grant is dead,' and he would furnish new matter for those two pages. At that late hour he commenced to furnish copy, and if you have a copy of The Register of that date in your possession it will give you an idea of his capacity for furnishing copy for a daily paper. The Register in that issue had a better and fuller report of the life of General Grant than any paper in the west. It was a 'phat' night to the printers, and will always be remembered by those who helped on that issue.

"Mr. Clarkson is a practical printer and many times assisted in the 'making up' of the paper at a late hour when something important was transpiring. I recall many other instances showing that his capacity for furnishing copy was practically unlimited. Saturday night was always a 'phat' night for the compositors. It was always a night when there was always a lot of 'Ret's' copy set in 'leaded nonpareil,' and that always meant a larger 'string' for the printer and a larger wage.

"In political campaigns 'Ret' would keep the compositors busy at all times, and many times he would stay late in order to keep the reader posted on the events of the day. It should also be remembered that 'Ret' did not confine himself to the editorial page alone. Some of the most important local news that appeared in *The Register* was written by him. He was a great 'booster' for this city, and no public or private improvements were left unnoticed. He was a great believer in bringing railroads to the city, and worked hard to that end."

Allusion was made in connection with the reproduction of the portrait of General [Grenville M.] Dodge in *The Register and Leader* recently to the fact that General Dodge had been proposed by the Clarksons for senator, and to the presence of his portrait in the sanctum of *The Register*, where so long the Clarksons labored, to indicate the ties of warm and abiding friendship and affection which existed. Mr. Clarkson says in his letter that his attention was attracted by the article on the sanctum picture of General Dodge, and in the interest of keeping history straight he writes at some length of the 1871-'72 campaign, and on the value of historical accuracy:

Dear Mr. Ingham: In reading up *The Register and Leaders* which came while I was several days away from home, I ran across the article about the old *Register* sanctum picture of Gen. G. M. Dodge.* The sketch given with the picture and its history must have been written by some one who is still blessed with exceeding youth, or by some one who never read the old *Register*. For instead of "The *Register* . . . taking no part in the contest

*Following is the statement in the *Register* of Nov. 18, 1908, to which Clarkson takes exception: "In the campaign for the United States senator in 1871 ending in the election of William B. Allison over James Harlan in the legislative session of 1872, the Iowa State *Register* then but recently passed into the hands of the Clarksons, took no decided stand for or against the chief candidates in that long and bitter struggle. But repeatedly vigorous editorials appeared pleading for the election of a soldier and naming General Dodge as the man who should be chosen."

between Senator Harlan and William B. Allison for United States Senator in 1871-2," and instead of its repeatedly during the contest urging the selection of a soldier for the place and "naming General Dodge as the man who should be elected," the exact reverse was true — as you will see if you will consult the files of the paper for that time. On the contrary, The Register led and practically originated the fight for Allison. [Here, Clarkson is not correct. Grenville M. Dodge was the originator of the campaign for Allison. See Sage, *Allison*, Chaps. VII, VIII.] Beyond that the earnest espousal of Allison, or rather the earnest opposition to Harlan, led to the withdrawal of Father Clarkson from The Register firm as one of the proprietors — he, Richard and I, having up to that time owned the paper in equal thirds. Father and Senator Harlan had been from 1854 earnest friends and just as earnest Methodists; and father had intended that the paper should support the senator's re-election. Richard and I had decided to support a younger man, one of our own generation, or one who would be contemporaneous with us in our future political activities. In the campaign preceding the election of the legislature the senatorship was for reasons of party interest and safety scarcely discussed, although we had begun to look about for a candidate that The Register as a southern Iowa paper could successfully support. Richard and I did originally favor and propose General Dodge, because he was a soldier and therefore deserving, because he lived in the southern half of Iowa, and for this reason, and that by being a Union hero, was the man easily and certainly to be elected. General Dodge himself favored Allison first and James F. Wilson second. Finally Allison, Dodge, Wilson and I met in Chicago to decide who should make the fight, and largely through the general's insistence Allison was decided upon. I went back to Des Moines, and opened out for Allison.

This brought father down from Melrose farm. In our original agreement as a firm we had divided up the powers of the paper absolutely — Richard to have the sole and unrestricted charge of the business department, father of the agricultural department, and I of the editorial conduct without interference. When we came to discuss it — and I had said that this was purely a question of business and politics and not in any way a matter involving filial obedience — and that I could not edit the paper for Harlan, nor leave it neutral in the contest, but that I would sell my third of that property for what I paid for it, or pay father twice what he paid for his third, it ended by father amicably withdrawing from the ownership "in order to stand by

Brother Harlan," and selling his interest to Richard and me. To his credit be it said that in his long life of eighty years he never deserted a friend, nor ever remained neutral in a contest when a friend was involved.

If whoever wrote the little sketch under the Dodge picture in *The Register and Leader* of Nov. 18 will but take down the file from October, 1871, to January, 1872, and cast his eyes over the fight as it was made day by day, he will see at once that he does not know the history of his Iowa very well. For as far as I know no livelier fight was ever made in Iowa for any man or cause than was then made by *The Register* for Allison. It almost makes me think, young as I am still, that one has lived too long when *The Register's* fight for Allison in 1871-2 has already been forgotten in *The Register* office itself. In the hot fires of that remarkable contest were forged and annealed the ties of the close and abiding friendship between Allison and his friends and the Clarksons; and made so strong that only death could end them; and I devoutly believe that even that will not, and did not end them. For even putting aside, as the scoffers now ask, all the blessed promises of Revelations, and of what the people of the New Thought of the new times called of "The God Out of a Book," and trusting alone to the proofs we have of nature always being benevolent and kind in purpose and never at bottom malevolent or unkind in progress, we may have every reason for confident faith that this life here cannot possibly be all and end all, and therefore that we shall live again — which in fact is not half as mysterious as that we live now — and meet again those of blood and truest friendship with whom we were closely associated here.

This incident shows that, in some continuing way, newspapers as well as men ought to have faithful and enduring memories. This was shown again when Frem Conaway [Freeman R. Conaway, editor of the *Brooklyn (Iowa) Chronicle* and of the *Ames Intelligencer*] in his paper somewhere in Iowa drew upon his imagination the other day, in supersensible zeal for the new *Register*, and assured the people of the present and possibly better Iowa — in everything perhaps except in a united republican party — that the old *Register* under the Clarksons always made itself ridiculous in claiming on the first morning after a state election absurdly large republican majorities, with the *Leader* doing the same antics for the democrats, with both papers finally being cut down one-half or more in their estimated majorities. Whereas the truth was that in those good old days of Iowa republicanism its majorities were always so large that there never was need of exagger-

ating them. Then too the politics of the state was then so steady and even that after returns had been received from one hundred townships scattered through the state after the close of the polls, as they always were by 10 o'clock, any expert could tell within a thousand votes what the full state majority would prove to be. For in the state political contests on general issues a steady and inexorable per cent of change one way or the other always occurs, the party either gaining or losing relatively in the same proportion in almost every normal election precinct. Frem Conaway, then in short trousers at school, bright as he always was, could, if he had had the election returns of previous years to compare with, have found in the new returns this relentless change of per cent, and himself have guessed within a few hundred votes the final state majority just as easily as the Clarksons, whom he now says were such blundering bluffers and so very cowboy and reckless in their methods with their readers, could have done, and did. The Clarksons may have been and doubtless were weak in some things, and often wrong, sometimes inexcusably so, perhaps. But they never were bluffers or braggarts; and their guiding aspiration in the conduct of their paper in dealing with the people of Iowa — whom they had, as boys and men, known from the pioneer days — was to tell them the truth. This frank and simple fidelity of editors toward their readers is not only self-respecting and manly, but even in a selfish sense the better plan in the long run.

Even the unconscious malice of careless statement in any matter connected with alleged fact, is a sin against history; just as thoughtlessness, so often pleaded by people for not giving kindness and help when they were badly and suddenly needed, is one of the worst forms and proofs of inborn and chronic selfishness. The world has too much of both. Although in the now nearly twenty years since I left Iowa as a home, I have read the new Register and Leader almost daily, always with interest, often with pleasure, sometimes with surprise, and frequently have seen challenging or careless statements as to the old Register and the men who controlled it. I have until now refrained from replying to or correcting any of them, since it was only the way of the world. But this time, seeing these two statements at once, and having a leisure half hour and feeling a call to say something once more to old friends in Iowa — and the best friends any newspaper editor ever had — I have written what I have, and now with the most cordial good wishes to you and to the new Register, grown into such great pro-

portions, and to everybody in Iowa, send it on for you to do with as you will. I am only sorry that I have to send it on in my own handwriting, which I fear has not improved with the passing years. Sincerely yours,
James S. Clarkson

[Following are some paragraphs from the Clarkson editorials on the death of U. S. Grant. They exhibit his command of language — somewhat flowery by present day standards — and his ability to turn every event to political purposes. Des Moines *Weekly Register*, July 31, 1885.]

A SORROW IN EVERY HOME

It is like writing of a death in every loyal home in America, to write of the death of General Grant. It is a personal grief to every person whose heart was with the Union army, or to whom the Union is dear. In every household in which, or from which a Union soldier has died, the sorrowful tragedy of that soldier's death is repeated in the death of Grant, and the sore hearts become more sore than ever. So long as Grant lived it seemed to all such households that their loved ones could not be wholly dead, for Grant himself has seemed a part of every Union soldier dead and every Union soldier living. In his death there goes into the grave this something of life that seemed to remain of the Union dead.

To the Union soldiers living this blow comes very close. No others can tell how close. It calls up the war to them as nothing else could. It brings back to them the scores of battles, with Grant at the front, the anchor of all the army's and all the Nation's strength. It brings back the scenes and the unutterable pathos of their comrades dying in the sudden call of battle or in the wasting last minutes of the hospital. It brings them to look death in the face again as only soldiers ever look into the face of death. It calls them to see the leader who bore a charmed life in war, and who bore in his breast at the time the life of the Nation itself, lie down among the dead never to touch a soldier's hand again and never again to plead with the Nation to be just to its heroes and true to itself. The men who followed Grant and who believed him the unequalled soldier of the world, found him even greater and more unequalled in civil life, as the Nation did. Statesmen and philosophers are not yet able to tell whether he wrought his greater work in the war, or in the wisdom with which he used the victory for the Union, or in his life since. His generosity to the foes he vanquished gave to magnanimity a new name and a larger meaning the world

over. The calm counsel of his voice after the war, showed him to mankind as being something more and something greater than a warrior. The world was surprised to see the vast Union army sink back into civil life and become the best citizens and the wisest counselors in peace. It was Grant again that led them to gain the greater and second victory. His counsel was in few words. They could be written on the blade of his sword, and they are the only words fit to be engraved on a sword that never had upon it the blood of defeat nor a breath of dishonor. . . .

The death of Grant will affect different temperaments variously. To some his great personality was so pervading that he has almost died in their sight, and will feel as he has passed to the great majority as if some great force had been lost out of nature, or as if the great protecting force of the Republic had fallen down, for the living Grant, even in private life, was looked upon by the American people and regarded by the world at large as being a greater protection to the Republic than its standing army. Others will feel that his great deeds had long ago removed him beyond the range and above the plane of common man and mortal life, and had placed him where death itself could scarcely make him further removed from envy or make him more exalted. He approached death with a dignity and patience that showed that he did not regard it as an enemy. Napoleon and nearly all great warriors shrank from death when it came and fretted under pain. Grant smiled at pain and saluted death as a friend. . . .

For he was a victor beyond all other men in the world up to this time, and a victor in the meaning that God himself would give to the word — in its largest most chivalrous and greatest sense. He was a victor over treason in war. He was a victor over popular turbulence and danger following the war. He was a victor over pain and suffering in his last days that the Cross alone has surpassed in the sublimity of patience, and with a prayer like that of a child on the lips that once dictated the destiny of nations, he has won the final victory of the Christian knight over death itself.

THE DOWNFALL OF SLANDER

There is one remarkable lesson in the death of Grant which has not been publicly called up for reflection. It is that, while he lived and was active, he was the target of general slander and especial party hate. As with all leaders in good work, large or small, he was slandered and abused in every possible form. A leader in any cause so good that its enemies

cannot assail it is always himself assailed. General Grant stood for the preservation of the Union and fought for it, and saved the nation. No political party and no man or set of men dared assail a cause that was unassailable. So its enemies had to follow the device, which has been current since the world began, of assailing Grant himself. Otherwise, it was the old plan of trying to break down a cause by breaking down the leader of it.

This is true: No man has done so much for this Republic as General Grant, and no American has been so much abused as he has been. Open treason in the South did not assail him with a tithe of the venom that covert treason did in the North. The Copperhead abuse of Grant, if the oaths making it up could take bodily form and be piled on top of each other, would make a mountain, — a chain of mountains. . . . No American has been so much the subject of villification. Washington, carrying the young Republic on his shoulders, was showered with abuse by those who cloaked their hatred of free government under rank abuse of him in order to break him down if possible. Lincoln, facing treason at home and danger abroad, and forming an army to save the imperilled Nation, was villified without limit, in the hope of domestic traitors and foreign foes to crush the Republic by crushing him. But Grant, more than any other, and more than all other Americans combined, was peculiarly the object of venomous, persistent, systematic, pitiless slander, such as never before pursued any man in any government. Open treason and secret treason, and foreign enmity, alike felt that he was the arch of the nation's strength in war, and its anchor for tranquillity and permanency in peace. It was felt that if he could be broken down the cause of the Union could be. Foreign foes felt that if he could be crushed the Old Union would pass away, and the Southern dream of Empire yet be fulfilled. Therefore he became the target of all people abroad who hate free government, and of all people at home who hated the Union. If venom could kill and slander obliterate, General Grant years ago would have been swept from the face of the earth.

But the truth cannot be killed, and Grant could not. He was a man of Providence, sent in the infinite wisdom of God to perform a great work, such as no other had ever performed. It was not in the range of mortal power to kill him with slander. That slander cannot kill is proved more in his career than that of any other man in history. In his case it could neither alienate his affection for the Government, nor chill his devotion for

its people. He knew, in his greater heart and brain, that his work would be a blessing on the very heads of those who were thus blindly seeking to destroy him, and with that calm and mighty repose found in no man oftener than once in five centuries, he wrought patiently at his work — a work that he knew would bless and benefit his enemies and his friends alike.

When death came to him, and the great benefactor bowed, with the simple faith of a child to meet death, his figure was at once enlarged upon the view of mankind in proportions equal to the greatness of his career. Slander began at once to hang its head, and died at his feet before death had come to him.

Now it has fallen down out of sight, and slander has been killed, not General Grant. . . .

Is there not in this a rebuke to slander, coming with such power as to seem to come from God himself, that old people may ponder on, and young people be warned by? May it not teach its perfect lesson, and make slander in all parts of the land dumb in its own mouth, and so loathed by all good people that even the meanest and most venomous of dealers in it will not dare longer to traffic in it!

The living Grant, because he represented a noble cause, and wrought bravely in it, had millions of slanderers. The dead Grant lies in a land that permits and furnishes no slander for him now, and that brings the millions of his former slanderers to his feet to praise and bless him. Did slander ever have so great a fall before?

BURY HIM IN LOYAL GROUND

General Grant should be buried in loyal ground, and that Washington is not, and New York always was and always will be, — as it will also be the metropolis always, while there is no certainty that Washington will always be the National Capitol [sic].

Again this is a matter that the family of General Grant should settle. They prefer New York, and everybody else should feel that that site should be chosen. On the 24th of June General Grant wrote upon a slip of paper and handed to his son the following, as explaining his own wishes as to a burial place:

There are three places from which I wish a choice of burial place to be made:

West Point — I would prefer this above others but for the fact that my wife could not be placed beside me there.

Galena or some place in Illinois — Because from that State I received my first general's commission.

New York — Because the people of that city befriended me in my need.

This shows that he had no wish to be buried in Washington, and that he was willing to be buried in New York.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

The Society added 311 new members during the months of October, November, and December, 1958. The following were enrolled as Life Members during these months: Miss Frances E. Plath, Davenport; Worth Hillman, Los Angeles, California; Frank C. Allen, North English; M. F. Carpenter, Iowa City; Francis N. Dawson, Iowa City; J. T. Dykhouse, Rock Rapids; Ralph A. Oliver, Sioux City; Irwin A. Rose, Newton; and L. C. Rummels, West Branch.

The annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History will be held in Iowa City in 1960. The Association accepted Superintendent William J. Petersen's invitation when the group met in 1958 at Salt Lake City.

The cornerstone of the Society's new Centennial Building was laid on November 26, 1958. The contents of the copper box inside the granite stone were:

- A. Miscellaneous Records, Reports, and Data Published by the Society.
 - 1. Constitution and By-Laws of the State Historical Society of Iowa.
 - 2. *Some Information* (January, 1942) — List of members, etc.
 - 3. *Some Information* (January, 1951) — Historical Publications, etc.
 - 4. Membership List by Counties and States (October, 1948).
 - 5. Membership List by Counties and States (January, 1952).
 - 6. Program for Centennial Birthday Dinner (February 7, 1957).
 - 7. Society Steamboat Excursion (1951) — Menu of the *Rob Roy III*.
 - 8. *Looking Backward on Hawkeyeland*, by William J. Petersen.
 - 9. Biennial Reports of the State Historical Society of Iowa for the following years: 1947-1949, 1951-1953, 1953-1955, 1955-1957.
- B. Representative Publications of the Society.
 - 1. *News for Members* — October, 1954, through October, 1958.
 - 2. *The Palimpsest*: June, 1955; August, 1955; May, 1956; March, 1957; June, 1957.

3. *Iowa Journal of History* — April, 1957.
4. Books:
 - a. *A Glimpse of Iowa in 1846*, by J. B. Newhall (SHSI reprint).
 - b. *Iowa History Reference Guide* (1952), by William J. Petersen.
 - c. *The Constitutions of Iowa* (1934), by Benj. F. Shambaugh.
- C. Contemporary Iowa Newspapers: *Iowa City Press-Citizen*; *Cedar Rapids Gazette*; *Des Moines Register*; *Davenport Times*; *Waterloo Courier*.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

October 2-3	Attended National Dairy Congress at Waterloo.
October 21	Addressed Mount Pleasant Women's Club.
November 5	Attended annual dinner of Walt Whitman Club in Des Moines.
November 7	Lectured to High Twelve Club in Cedar Rapids.
November 12	Addressed annual presidential dinner for faculty and wives of Iowa Wesleyan College.
December 5	Lectured to Cliff Dwellers in Chicago.
December 13	Presided at first meeting of the Iowa Lincoln Sesquicentennial Conference at Iowa Wesleyan College.
December 28-30	Attended annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, D. C.

Iowa Historical Activities

Professor William E. Baringer, of the University of Florida, is Executive Director of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission which was established by Congress to supervise the observance in 1959 of the sesquicentennial of the birth of Abraham Lincoln. Dr. Baringer addressed the meeting of Iowans interested in this observance at Iowa Wesleyan College on December 13. Representative Fred Schwengel, who is president of the District of Columbia Lincoln Group, attended the meeting, which was presided over by Superintendent William J. Petersen of the State Historical Society of Iowa. Communities throughout the nation are planning programs for 1959, which has been designated "Lincoln Year." Dr. Petersen recommended that Iowa consider a five-point program for state observance

of Lincoln's birth: (1) a joint session of the legislature; (2) a meeting in Iowa City centered around the Bolinger Collection of Lincoln material in the library of the State University; (3) the completion of the restoration of the Harlan-Lincoln Home in Mount Pleasant; (4) a special issue of *The Palimpsest*; and (5) the formation of Lincoln and Civil War study groups.

The Bremer County Historical Society was organized on November 21 in Waverly. Officers elected were: Mrs. Fred O. Gordon, president; Mrs. Delbert Shepard, vice-president; Mrs. Grace Roberts, secretary; and Leslie Young, treasurer.

The Calhoun County Historical Society, formerly the Rockwell City Historical Society, now has sixty charter members, according to Mrs. Ruth Ridge, publicity chairman. Mrs. Clarence Webb is president of the new society.

The McGregor Historical Society has erected a marker on the site of the first school in McGregor. The school was built by the founder of the town, Alexander McGregor, in 1850.

The Cerro Gordo County Historical Society has taken over sponsorship of the Mason City Civil War Round Table, which has been meeting as an independent organization for the past two years. The purpose of the Round Table is to bring together the Civil War students and devotees from the Mason City area for the purpose of discussion and study of the Civil War.

An old schoolhouse, once attended by the famous Iowa author, Herbert Quick, is being restored by a group of women in Grundy Center, headed by Mrs. Carroll Mitchell. The school was moved into the city park of Grundy Center in 1933, but since that time it has not been kept up and finally became an equipment storehouse. Mrs. Mitchell organized the movement to restore the school to its original condition, and old oil lamps, a stove, rare old textbooks, a hand bell, and other relics of the early days of education are being procured and put on display in the building.

Another one-room schoolhouse is being restored by members of the Adams County Historical Society. The building originally stood at the west edge of Corning, on Highway 34, and was one of the Icarian Colony

school buildings. It has been moved into town on land contributed by Mr. and Mrs. Dean Rogers.

The late May Miller King of Corydon willed the bulk of her estate, some \$25,000, to the Wayne County Historical Society to be used in building or buying a permanent home for the Society. Mrs. King made the bequest in memory of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. H. C. Miller, pioneer residents of Wayne County.

Officers of the newly organized Dallas County Historical Society are: Mrs. Curtis Gregory, president; Norman Still, vice-president; and Mrs. Ethel Hays, secretary-treasurer.

At the annual meeting of the Lee County Historical Society, William L. Talbott was elected president to succeed Alois J. Webber who had served for the first two years of the Society's existence. Charles B. Chappell was re-elected vice-president; and Robert Miller was named secretary-treasurer to succeed Miss Doris Foley. The Society has been active during the year in promoting historical tours of points of interest in Lee County and in Keokuk, and in establishing a museum room.

At the fifth annual meeting of the Chickasaw County Historical Society, the following officers were re-elected: Mrs. Leota Edson, president; Miss Mildred Bigelow, vice-president; Miss Jean Gerber, secretary; and Mrs. Glenn Young, treasurer. The most ambitious project of the Society is the restoration of the old Methodist church in Deerfield. A pageant and homecoming at the church will be held next summer.

The 1959 yearbook of the Cedar County Historical Society will be devoted to articles on the churches and cemeteries of the county.

The Butler County Historical Society has purchased a schoolhouse, known as the Little Yellow Schoolhouse, located two miles south of Are-dale. It will be moved to Allison and used as an historical museum.

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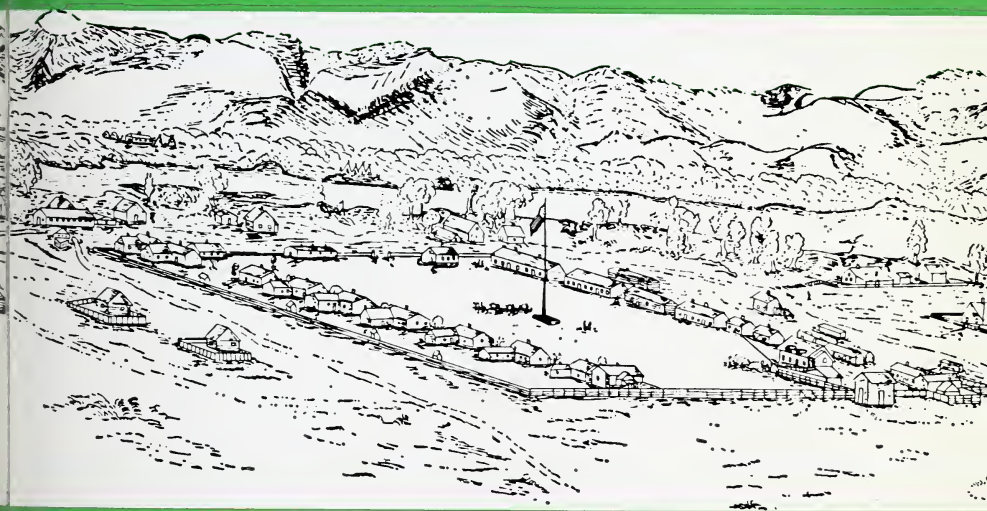
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Edited by *Mildred Throne*

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COVER

FORT RANDALL, DAKOTA TERRITORY

From *Collections of the South Dakota Historical Society*, Vol. XXIV.

IOWA TROOPS IN DAKOTA TERRITORY,
1861-1864
BASED ON THE DIARIES AND LETTERS OF
HENRY J. WIENEKE

*Edited by Mildred Throne**

A phase of the Civil War which received little notice at the time, or since, was that of the frontier posts of the western territories. There a handful of soldiers dragged out a weary existence, enlivened only now and then by brushes with the Indians, while they counted the days until their enlistments would be over and read with envy the exploits of their friends and neighbors fighting the "rebels" in the South. The regular army troops stationed at the frontier posts to protect settlers against Indian raids were needed in the eastern theater of the war; therefore, companies of the newly recruited volunteers from the states closest to the frontier were sent west to relieve them. The first Iowa troops sent to Dakota Territory were Companies A, B, and C of the 14th Iowa Infantry, mustered in at Iowa City on October 23 to 25, 1861. They left Iowa City on November 2 for Fort Randall, Dakota Territory.¹

In September of 1862 these three companies, numbering 267 men, were detached from the 14th and designated the 41st Iowa Infantry Battalion; still later (April, 1863) they were transferred to the 7th Iowa Cavalry as Companies K, L, and M. Another Iowa cavalry regiment, the 6th, also served in Dakota, arriving there in the spring of 1863.²

Fort Randall, one of several military posts in Dakota Territory was located on the Missouri River near what is now the border between Nebraska and South Dakota. The site had been selected in 1856 by Major General William S. Harney, who had been conducting an expedition against the Sioux. In 1861 five companies of the Fourth Artillery were stationed at Randall; in May, three companies were sent east, while two remained in

*Mildred Throne is associate editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

¹*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion* . . . (6 vols., Des Moines, 1908-1911), 2:721. (Hereafter cited as *Roster and Record*.)

²*Ibid.*, 4:1115, 1253; 5:1159-60.

Dakota under command of Captain John A. Brown, a native of Maryland, who soon deserted his post to join the Confederacy. For six months the two companies, commanded by Second Lieutenant T. R. Tannatt, remained, seemingly forgotten. Then, in the middle of December, 1861, the three Iowa companies of the 14th regiment arrived to relieve the regulars, who at once departed for the more exciting scenes in the east.³

The first year of service in Dakota was a period of dull routine. Then, in August of 1862 the Indian massacres in Minnesota aroused the whole frontier. In 1863 a joint military expedition from Minnesota and Dakota failed to trap the Indians who had fled from Minnesota into Dakota Territory. A bitter Dakota winter immobilized both the soldiers and the Indians, but in the summer of 1864 another expedition, under Brigadier General Alfred Sully, went as far north and west as the confluence of the Missouri and the Yellowstone rivers. Following the expedition, most of the Iowa soldiers, their three-year enlistment over, returned to Sioux City to be mustered out.

The following documents relating the experiences of the Iowa troops in Dakota during 1861-1864 consist of diaries and letters of Henry J. Wieneke of Iowa City, a member of Company B, 14th Iowa, and of numerous letters from various members of the regiment published in the Iowa City papers. Together, these documents, arranged chronologically, tell a story of the monotony of a frontier army post, give accounts of the Indians, both friendly and hostile, and reflect the disappointment of men far removed from the real war.

Henry J. Wieneke was born in Ohio of German parentage in 1837. His parents moved to Johnson County, Iowa, in 1844. As a young man, Henry established a bakery in Iowa City, tried the cabinet trade for a while, then returned to the bakery business until his enlistment in the fall of 1861. Meanwhile, in 1857 he had married Caroline Kembel. After the war Henry Wieneke, his health impaired by the exposure and hardship of his army experiences, sought some lighter work than baking or cabinet making, and he opened a store handling cigars and stationery, continuing in that business until his death in 1923.⁴ In 1922 Wieneke revised a part of his 1864 diary

³ Frederick T. Wilson, "Fort Pierre and Its Neighbors," *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 1:293-4 (1902).

⁴ Biographical sketch of Wieneke in Clarence Ray Aurner, *Leading Events in Johnson County Iowa History* (2 vols., Cedar Rapids, 1913), 2:651-3.

for publication in the JOURNAL, together with the diary and letters of Amos R. Cherry, a sergeant of Company B.⁵

Several years ago the complete Wieneke diaries and letters were turned over to the State Historical Society of Iowa. The relevant parts of the diaries and letters are here reproduced, interspersed with letters from other members of the regiment, to give as complete a story as possible of the Iowans in Dakota.

[Wieneke Diary]

W[ednesday] Oct 23rd 1861 Sworn in to U. S. service. Cold that I could hardly finger the fife.⁶ . . .

Monday Oct 28th This day we commenced Cooking for the Co. . . .

Sat Nov 2nd Started from Clark's mill Camp and Camped at Camp Douglass on Douglass farm. . . .

Sunday Nov 3rd 1861 up to within 3 miles of Marengo. . . . headache very bad took medicine in the evening. traveled 18 miles

[Letter in *Iowa City Republican*, Nov. 6, 1861, signed Asa Ruckman.]⁷

HOMESTEAD, November 3, 1861

MESSRS. EDITORS: — Companies A, B and C, of the 14th regiment, are all right, have just eaten their dinner, and are moving westward. They are as good boys as ever trod terra firma and should they ever have a chance on the bloody field of battle, they will add new laurels to the honored name of Iowa. The Ladies of Clear Creek township came to "camp Washburn" last evening, and presented this portion of the Iowa 14th with a magnificent Flag. Mr. Evans, in behalf of the Ladies, made an appropriate speech, and was responded to by Capt. Pattee and Lieut. Luse.⁸ The most captivating

⁵ "Iowa Troops in the Sully Campaign," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 20:364-443 (July, 1922). See note 121.

⁶ Companies A, B, and C, 14th Iowa, rendezvoused at Iowa City and were sworn into the service on Oct. 23-25, 1861. By an order of the War Department, these three companies were then detached from the 14th and ordered to Fort Randall, Dakota Territory. *Roster and Record*, 2:721. Wieneke is listed in the regiment as a drummer, but, as will be seen in the diary, he played a fife, or a flute, and was also company cook. *Ibid.*, 753.

⁷ Asa Ruckman is not listed as a member of the 14th Iowa; probably, he was a resident of Johnson County, traveling a short distance with the troops.

⁸ Capt. John Pattee of Co. A, a native of Canada and resident of Iowa City. As senior captain, he was in command of the men marching to Dakota. First Lieut. Mar-

and patriotic address I ever listened to, was delivered by Miss Washburn of Iowa City. Patriotic songs were sung by Prof. Kelly⁹ and others. The Professor is one of the cleverest men in Iowa, and in his new position of Orderly Sergeant, will sing a different song, provided he is ever permitted to have a class of secessionists to deal with. . . .

[Wieneke Diary]

Monday nov 4th 1861 Spent a miserable night verry strong fever, head felt like bursting. went into Ma[rengo] and bought Crackers &c and Carried crackers until dinner time when I caught up with the team we traveled 13 miles Encamped on mud Creeke.

Tuesday 5th Went ahead with team and Begged Bread had enough to feed them for dinner. Rested about 3 miles from Brooklyn went in town and loafed until 4 oclock camped north of town on big Bear Creek

Wednesday Nov 6th Started at Six this morning and traveled 18 miles to grinel Powsheik Co went ahead of the train and begged Bread enough for Supper the Country this day was all prarie and you could travel for [illegible] Hours without seeing a house. had another attack of fever this evening being the third got medicine from the Surgeon must Start at six tomorrow morning ahead of the train

Thursday Nov 7 Started in good time but on the wrong road and traveled 3 miles when I had to go overland or under land for it was all through sloughs for about 2 miles I traveled purety fast and made Newton by 2 oclock P. M. in the evening went up town with 200 wt [weight] of flour and took it around to different houses for baking. then unhitched on an open lot and went to sleep

Friday Nov 8 Capt Mahanna¹⁰ arrived this morning at 5 oclock went

vin R. Luse, Co. B, a native of Pennsylvania, was also a resident of Iowa City. *Roster and Record*, 2:744, 747. Luse, an auctioneer and later a merchant in Iowa City, was the son-in-law of Capt. Bradley Mahana of Co. B. *History of Johnson County, Iowa* . . . (Iowa City, 1883), 867-8.

⁹ William Kelly of Iowa City, Second Sergeant of Co. A, *Roster and Record*, 2:743.

¹⁰ Bradley Mahana of Iowa City, Capt. of Co. B, *ibid.*, 2:745. Mahana was born in 1806 in Pennsylvania, came to Iowa City in 1855 after considerable military experience in Pennsylvania. He served in Co. B of the 1st Iowa Infantry, the 100-day regiment which fought at the battle of Wilson's Creek. After the 1st Iowa was disbanded, Mahana raised another company for the 14th Iowa — Co. B. He was a Democrat, which may account for part of his personal conflict with Capt. Pattee, a Republican and brother-in-law to Iowa's Governor S. J. Kirkwood. See *History of Johnson County*, 869-70.

around and gathered Bread got about 150 Lbs went down to Camp and went out on the State road Stopped at a farm house and Eat Dinner Went on made 20 miles this day the Sandiest road I ever saw Capt Mahanna gave me a letter from Carie¹¹ this evening it did me more good than if someone had given me 50 D[ollars] am very tired this evening about 5 miles of the road was verry bad all sand the Horse Could hardly travel over it. . . .

Sat 9th 1861 Started ahead again and made 15 miles to Des Moines by 12 Oclock had a hard snow Storm this morning but cleared up by noon Camped about half past 3 oclock in the forks of the Des moine and Skunk [sic. Raccoon] Rivers Des Moines is about $\frac{4}{5}$ as large as Iowa City

Sunday Nov 10th we did not move from here this day 1 man in Co C verry sick. not expected to live. . . .

Monday Nov 11th 1861 Member of Co C Died last night¹² We staid in Camp all day he was Buried with Millitary Honors at 2 oclock P. M. it has been Cool and windy all day froz $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in our kettles last night. . . .

Nov 12th 1861 Started at 9 Oc[lock] and traveled 14 miles and camped for the night Weather verry fine all day such weather is verry pleasant Camping out if it only stays so until we get to the fort I feel better this eve than I have since leaving the City

Wednesday Nov 13 Camp No 11 Marched 22 miles and waded Skunk River [sic. Raccoon] Camped on west Bank went ahead today and Bought $1\frac{1}{2}$ Bushel potatoes they are verry scarce the farmers say the season was too dry the Country was verry pleasant and fine today large farms and good houses passed through Adell 11 miles from last nights camp and Irish town is on the other side of Skunk from our Camp

Thursday Nov 14 Camp 12 Cool all day with verry sharp wind Country for 5 miles this morning verry hilly and rough we traveled for 7 miles without seeing a house they have been having a verry large fire through here burning Barns &c we came 22 miles today a verry hard tramp for the Boys Camped on high ground without wood and must Carry water half mile

Friday Nov 15th Camp No. 12 [sic] Traveled 18 miles and Camped

¹¹ Wieneke's wife, Caroline.

¹² This was Wilson S. Maxwell of Wapello, Louisa County. See "Iowa Troops in the Sully Campaign," 386-7.

on [blank space] Creek a pleasant place the road this day was verry Rough up and down hill the boys went out this evening and found a Bee Tree and brought in about 40# of Honey Baked Bread until 12 oclock P. M. had a verry bad Head ache all day and still the toothache the weather purety cold this night. it friezes the Dough stiff for us. a hard life

Sat Nov 16th 1861 Camp No. 13 morning verry cold and windy Started and went 17 miles Camped 11½ miles East of the village of Louis [sic. Lewis] on [Nishnabotna] Creek. commenced Sleating as we went into Camp the tent wagon of Co C went ahead and it was 5 oclock [when] it Came back to Camp we had hard times to Cook supper The Slap Jacks were wet and like Dough no difference how long we baked them. this is a new side to Camp life, and a hard one. If we were only in the fort it would be all right then every tooth in my mouth is sore and aching and has been for a week or more. I went into a store in the town of Lewis this afternoon and it was so warm it made my head ache right away I could not stand it. did not wash the dishes this evening as it was so wet. it is a little cold this evening but I do not feel it I have got so much used to the Cold I do not think I could stand it in a house with a fire now it would do as it did to me this evening in that store Went to bed at 8 oclock this eve

Sunday Nov 17th 1861 got up at 2 Oclock and went to work. baked and cooked and started at Half past Sevon the roads were bad being wet and frozen went 25 miles this day and camped on the west side of [blank space] creek the day was verry pleasant if the roads had only been good. expect to get into Council Bluffs tomorrow I am very anxious to get there so that I can hear from home I have been verry homesick this day. . . .

Monday Nov 18th 1861 this morning was waked up by the Cry of fire fire The Co B Commissary Wagon is on fire why in the Hell don't you holler fire, and other such cries as the above one I was out of the wagon in less time than I ever went out before the wagon was all lit up I sprung for it and pulled up the cover then I pulled at the potato bag but it came out in pieces the Bean bag did the same flour Coffee, Beans potatoes and every thing else was mixed up we pulled out about 300# of flour 16# of Coffee 11½ Bush potatoes peck of Beans and some

other things [several words illegible] we scouped them out on the ground and put out the fire when I happened to think that my feet were burned and verry cold Started on and marched on 23 miles

Tuesday Nov 19th went into town this morning and got a letter from my wife the child has been unwell the rest are all well came back and brought 100 of Corn meal with me that I Bought there. about 3 oclock it turned up verry stormy the wind vieraed around from South to north-west and it rained until about 8 oclock in the evining when it cleared up it is purety cold now

Wednesday Nov 20 Clear this morning but a little cold got up at about half past 4 oclock and cooked breakfast the day was verry pleasant. staid in camp all day cooked dinner at half past 3 this evening. . . . no news from home am verry anxious to hear from home again how my Dear wife and children are if I only had them near enough to see them once every day I would be satisfied but it cannot be. the men are all verry much Dissatisfied with Pattee and getting more so all the time¹³ . . .

Monday Nov 25th Started at 7 Oc ahead of the train with Lieut Leuse and went on to Soux City 46 miles and got in the City at half past 7 oclock and stopped at the Heagy house got a good Supper I wish I could only get a letter from home then I would be all right.

Tuesday Nov 26th 61 this morning it looked like rain and about 12 oclo it commenced by 3 PM the wind vieraed round to the northwest and began to get Cold men came in stragling by 3s or 4s at once this evening it is verry cold more so than any day since we started the old horse is not well had to trade off a pair of goggles to get him some medicine as I did not have a cent of money at five Oclock started with the team and flour and took it around to the different houses to have it baked

Wednesday Nov 27 the train Started at 11 A. M. leaving 1 team and several men at town myself amongst the rest to get what Bread the women had baked for us we waited until 3 Oc when we started we went around and gathered Bread until 6 oclock when we started out with about 600 lbs the teamster who was an Irishman got so drunk this afternoon that we left him in a Stable when we Started for the Bread and he only

¹³ The food supply was very short, and the men blamed it on Capt. Pattee. For their attitude toward him and the feud between Pattee and Mahana, see Amos R. Cherry's account in "Iowa Troops in the Sully Campaign," pp. 384ff.

Caught up when we had started, still stupid we drove out on a verry rough road over bluffs as rough as any we have been on yet — and got off of the road — when we were about 4 miles off from town and Sargent Trask¹⁴ and myself went ahead and hunted until we got to the ferry when we had to go back for the team headed by the ferryman and got into Camp at 9 Oclock. . . .

Friday Nov 29th 61 this morning it is Clear but Cold the thermometer must be about 15 Deg below Zero we started and marched to Vermillion the Seat of Government of Dacotah Teritory here we had a verry good Camping ground with plenty of water I forgot to mention that last night we had to Carry all of Our water from one well half mile from Camp and had not enough to Cook Coffee. . . .

Sat Nov 30th 1861 Cold this mornng but no wind looked as though it would rain also like snow marched 22 miles one man in our Company named Cannon¹⁵ an Irishman stopped at a house on the side of Gim¹⁶ river and Sold a blanket that he had stolen from one of his mess mates and traded it off for 1 qt whisky the officers sent a Corporal and 6 men back with him to the house and made him get the blanket and bring it home and then got a board & marked it with Chalk (stole a Blanket and trade it off for whiskey) then parraded him through the whole Camp.

Sunday Dec 1st Cold, Cold, verry Cold got up and started at Sevon Oclock the wind blowing sharp from north west traveled 17 miles the day was the Coldest we have had some of the Boys froze their fingers hands & Ears. was sick with the Diarraeh had the home sickness more this day than any since we left the City. . . .

Tuesday Dec 3rd this the 4th anniversary of my Wedding opened up verry fine warm and pleasant as a morning in April Started and travelled 22 miles into the Indian Reserve — 2 miles back from our Camp we came across lodges of Indians in a Deep hollow. The Squaws & Children Crawled through the grass looked like a flock of quail we did not get down to them as we wanted to get on and camp our camp this evening is in a verry lovely spot the pleasantest since we have left the City it is on a flat [illegible] north east with the back toward a run on the opposite side of which

¹⁴ Eugene F. Trask of Iowa City, Second Sergeant of Co. B. *Roster and Record*, 2:752.

¹⁵ Edward Cannon, aged 40, native of Ireland, resident of Iowa City. *Ibid.*, 2:736.

¹⁶ The James, or Jim, River in South Dakota.

were verry high Bluffs covered with Cedar ash and Other kinds of trees the run was not frozen and the bottom pebbly I could have spent a week there verry pleasantly in such weather as we had

Wednesday Dec 4th still verry pleasant and warm this morn Started at sunrise and made the station by noon 17 miles the station as it is called is situated on the river Bottom and Consists of a large warehouse sawmill and lot of Indian Cabbins here you could see the natives in all states from those who were dressed in their skins to those who lived in houses and dressed better than I can here the Captain received orders to Cross the river and take up the west side but the teams would not do it as they feared that the Ice would break. I vollunteered to cross with my horse & wagon and did so after I had crossed the Captain recd another order brought by an Indian from Pattee¹⁷ that we were to Keep on up this side for sevon miles further and then Cross so I had to go back we then marched up 2 miles and camped on the Bottom this evening our Camp was crowded with Indians until the guard had to drive them out. . . .

Thursday Dec 5th 61 Started and made 7 miles up the river 7 mi & Crossed the river on the Ice went up 2 miles when we met Pattee & were marched off to the right of the post on the river Bottom & camped

Friday Dec 6th 61 this morning is verry nice again Clear & warm this afternoon I went into the fort [Randall] it is situated on a bott[om] the Second Bottom from the River on the west is a high Bluff the fort is on as good ground as can be wished for our quarters are good

Sat Dec 7th 1861 Started into the fort at 12 oclock the Cooking Qrts are verry Dirty made Dinner by 4.30 boys all verry well satisfied recd 2 letters from home and am verry much relieved to hear that my family is all well. . . .

[Letter signed "W. A. M."¹⁸ in *Iowa City State Press*, Jan. 22, 1862.]

Fort Randall

Dec 28, 1861

. . . We arrived here about three weeks ago; in good health and fine spirits. We had a pretty hard march of it, I tell you; but after all our *trials*,

¹⁷ When the troops camped on Dec. 3rd, Capt. Pattee had taken the stage and gone ahead to Fort Randall, where the two companies of the 4th Artillery were eager to leave. John Pattee, "Dakota Campaigns," *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 5:275-6 (1910).

¹⁸ Possibly William A. McCaddon, private, Co. B, 14th Iowa. *Roster and Record*, 2:744.

and troubles, we have at last reached our place of destination, and found everything in much better order than we expected. We have just as good and comfortable quarters as any of us could wish. We have had splendid weather in our *corner of the world*, until within the last few days when it turned in very cold and stormy. How did you all spend Christmas at home? I expect you had fine times; for my part I stood guard all day but had a splendid dinner that one of the citizens prepared expressly for our mess. You wished to know what kind of a place we sleep in and what we have to eat and also how we get our washing done. In the first place I will tell you how we sleep. We have large comfortable mess rooms with bunks in each one, to accommodate 16 men. We have plenty of bed clothing, a large stove and plenty of wood to each room. I will just give you our bill of fare and you can judge for yourself as to whether we have enough to eat or not. — We have plenty of bread, coffee, beef, bacon, beans, rice, soup, &c. We are allowed fresh beef only two days in a week, and the rest of the time have bacon that I think was killed when Adam was a boy; it has actually been killed so long that its day of *resurrection* has come and it is all *coming to life again*. Some of it is able to *crawl* now. I expect we will have it to *butcher over* again before it is all used up, as we have about twenty tons of it yet. There are about 20 of the regulars' wives here to wash for us besides the women that came along with us. The regulars left here the day after we arrived, their families will probably stay here 'till next summer.

We have organized a debating society and have fine times. We also have a sabbath school and Good Templar's association. Capt. Mahanna is superintendent of the Sunday School. We also have a theatre once a month. There is a large theatre hall here large enough to seat four hundred persons; it is fitted up in style, with a splendid set of scenery. We have good times here if we are away out in the world, but it would be considerable better if there were about 500 girls here. They are a very scarce article about these diggings. There is any number of the *true American ladies* here but they don't exactly suit my style. There are about fifteen hundred of the *red devils* about the country here, and about two hundred hanging around the fort all the time. They are the dirtiest, laziest, lousiest, set of creatures I ever saw; I don't see how they live at all. There is no game around here for them to kill. I believe they just live on what little they get around the fort.

. . .

W. A. M.

[Letter signed A. R. C. [Amos R. Cherry],¹⁹ in the *Iowa City State Press*, Feb. 19, 1862.]

Fort Randall,
Feb. 5, 1862.

MR. EDITOR: As I was a resident of Iowa City and acquainted with many in that place and vicinity, and was an occasional reader of your paper, perhaps a few lines from me would not be out of place, for the greater portion of our company is from Iowa City or from Johnson county. . . . The soldiers in Ft. Randall have written a great many communications for the *Republican* but for some cause they are not published. Mr. *Republican*, why is this? But I think I can answer the question, and save the precious time of the ones that run that *party-machine*.²⁰ The soldiers here being Union men, uttering their true sentiments, irrespective of party, perhaps did not suit the style of that partizan sheet. Perhaps their letters censured some of *their party friends who are in position* in the battalion, and if they did so, I have no doubt but they gave a truthful representation of affairs here, and of our usage and *misusage* on the march to this place. . . .

We arrived here on Dec. 5th, very much worn down by our long march; remained in camp two days outside the garrison to give the regulars time to get moved out of the quarters; took possession on the 7th; and we had almost forgotten how to keep house after living so long in tents. All the trouble we had was how to occupy all the room. Having been so long accustomed to sleeping four deep and mixing up so thick in our six by seven mansions, it seemed very odd to us to spread out and live like white men once more. The quarters here are excellent, and provided with plenty to eat, which is cooked up in fine style by our friend, and accommodating cook, Julius Winekie [*sic*]. The members of Co. B are all well; not a man on the sick list from our company; and we are having very easy times during the cold weather. Since it became so severe, we have not drilled much; in fact not at all out of doors, but four hours each day in our rooms. Co. B is well drilled in the manual of arms, and I think not inferior to any company

¹⁹ Amos R. Cherry of Iowa City was Fifth Sergeant of Co. B. See "Iowa Troops in the Sully Campaigns," 374-440.

²⁰ This reflects the party animus of the times. The *Iowa City Press* was a Democratic paper, the *Iowa City Republican*, naturally, Republican. It is very possible that letters written to the *Republican*, criticizing officers who may have been prominent Republicans, would not have been published by the organ of that party. Likewise, the *Press* would probably have suppressed letters attacking Democratic officers.

that ever left Iowa City for the war. We have been drilling some in the skirmish drill, since we came here. This is fine exercise and the men take a deep interest in it, and of course learn very fast indeed.

And now a word concerning our officers. Capt. Mahanna is well and looks finely. He is the best captain that ever had the command of a company of brave men; beloved by every man in his company. Whenever we parade for inspection or drill, he has some good advice and counsel to give us, and I assure you it is taken and acted upon by the men. I often heard it said by men in Iowa City that they would never go to Ft. Randall with him, and that they had no confidence in him as a military man, and many other unpleasant remarks were made concerning him, which were all gross misrepresentations. He exercises no unnecessary authority over his men, and only such as a father exercises over his children; for their good and comfort seems to be his whole study and aim. And if he has not the confidence of the cowardly stay-at-homes in Iowa City, who are jealous of him in his proud position, he certainly has both the respect and confidence of the men he has the honor to command; and if his enemies have anything to say disrespectful of him before any member of this company, it will be resented as soon as if it was concerning ourselves.

Lieut. Luse is one of the best officers in the battalion, universally respected by the whole command. I often heard it remarked before we left, that he would be very nice until we were in his power and then he would show us the cloven foot. This was the most unjust remark that ever was made concerning a decent man. Lieut. Luse is one of the best fellows I ever knew; courteous and pleasant in his manner of addressing the men when off duty, and when he gives the command, "*Attention Company*" it seems to be a pleasure to the men to obey his orders.

Lieut. Schell²¹ is young but an accomplished officer and brave soldier, and even to his seniors in rank, an example, and beloved by all.

We are in hopes of being removed from here and sent South in the spring to join our comrades in arms who are with the devoted and true of the Northwest. Not but we are contented and comfortable in this our Fort Randall home, and well satisfied to remain, as far as comfort and ease are concerned, but this is not the height of our ambition. We are anxious to

²¹ Joseph F. Schell of Iowa City, Second Lieut. of Co. B. *Roster and Record*, 5:1185.

take an active part in this struggle for national existence, and distinguish ourselves for something more than masterly inactivity, that the name of this battalion may be recorded upon the pages of our country's history as one that acted well its part in maintaining our country's rights and restoring peace and harmony to its now torn and distracted States.

We are having trouble with a man from this Territory by the name of Lyman,²² who came here on the 3d and reported himself to the sergeant of the guard as the commander of the post. He notified Capt. Pattee on the morning of the 4th that he would take command in the morning at guard mounting, but Pattee did not feel disposed to give up his position, until this new man produced satisfactory evidence that he was entitled to the command, which it seems he has not done. He has issued several orders but none of them are executed as we consider ourselves subject only to the orders of Capt. John Pattee. Last night, Lyman issued an order that there would be no dress parade that night. Capt. Pattee gave an order for dress parade, and of course, we obeyed, and appeared to receive the orders of John Pattee, Captain commanding the post. Pattee is now under arrest for not obeying the instructions of this new comer, and Pattee has issued an order notifying this gentleman that he must leave the garrison within 24 hours, or he would place him under arrest. To-day Capt. Mahanna of Co. B and Capt Wolf²³ of Co. C had a conversation with Lyman, and they appear to feel satisfied that this man's papers are all right and that he is entitled to the command. They say Mr. Lyman treated them with a great deal of respect and expressed his regret that anything of the kind happened. Perhaps he has been misrepresented and I will not judge him too harshly, until I am assured that he deserves it.

²² William P. Lyman was "major" of the Dakota Volunteer Cavalry, which consisted of only one company. When he presented his papers to Pattee, and stated that he had been appointed to take over command at Fort Randall, Pattee refused to honor his commission, which was so full of erasures and interlinings as to be unintelligible. Also, as Pattee explains, no one could be appointed a major of less than two companies. Lyman succeeded in taking over the post, however, and placing Pattee under arrest. Pattee at once communicated with his brother-in-law, Governor Kirkwood of Iowa, and with Senator James Harlan. The War Department examined the case and at once relieved Lyman, who left the fort, turning over command to Capt. Mahana of Co. B, rather than to Pattee, who remained under arrest until word came from Kirkwood and Harlan that he was to be restored to command. The whole incident is an instance of local Dakota politics, coupled with the animosity between Mahana and Pattee. For Pattee's account, see Pattee, "Dakota Campaigns," 278-82.

²³ George H. Wolfe of Jones County, Capt. of Co. C. *Roster and Record*, 5:1190.

We have been favored with a visit from our red brethren, about sixty in number, who were on their way to their great buffalo hunt and wished to get some eatables. Pattee issued out to them two barrels of pork, three barrels of crackers, some tobacco, and three buckets of sugar, with which they seemed well pleased. They say Pattee is the best man that ever was in command here, and they are, of course, his fast friends.

Respectfully yours,

A. R. C.

P.S. Since writing the above, I have been informed by Capt. Mahanna that he and Capt. Wolf of Co. C had become satisfied that Major Lyman's papers were correct, and entitled him to the command of the post, and Mahanna and Wolf notified Pattee that they should report to Lyman for orders; and at the same time told him that they thought he had better submit; but he obstinately refused to do so, saying that he should hold command at all hazards. He also told Mahanna that if he reported to Lyman he would have him under arrest. Lyman also said [that if] they refused to execute his orders he would arrest *them*. This was placing our Captain in an unpleasant position, but I think our Captain and Capt. Wolf have acted the wise part. We are now under the command and subject to the orders of Major Lyman and received his orders tonight on parade, so you will see we are in a critical position. Pattee is ordered under arrest in his quarters by Major Lyman.

A. R. C.

[Letter signed "W. W., Co. A"²⁴ in *Iowa City Republican*, Feb. 26, 1862.]

Fort Randall, Dacotah Ty.,

Feb. 8th, 1862.

EDS. REPUBLICAN:

Excitement being on "tip toe" and the *cause* the subject of conversation in every circle, I thought I would take my pen (although occupying quarters in the hospital) to let your many readers learn that we are even at Fort Randall, subject to excitements and changes.

Some four or six weeks ago, it was reported that the War Department had authorized the Governor of Dacotah to fill and garrison this post with Dacotah volunteers, and the Iowa boys to leave for the sunny South, and

²⁴ There is no man with the initials "W. W." in Co. A. It is possible that the initials are those of William W. Jones of Iowa City, a private in Co. A. *Ibid.*, 5:1175.

join their regiment for more active service, which caused considerable vocal speculation, murmur and much dissatisfaction.

This report was a number of times contradicted and affirmed, but some two weeks ago, it was proven that the Dacotah volunteering had turned out an entire failure; not being able to raise a respectable corporal's guard. I wish the friends in Iowa to understand that the Iowa boys never once feared leaving for a field of more active service — but having traveled through a bitter Northwestern autumn, the fatiguing march of over five hundred miles, and then to be turned into the drifting storms of mid-winter, for a more than equally fatiguing and weary march, brought a shudder. . . .

About the time the above had passed into forgetfulness — and there being but little excitement excepting on mail days, and I would say, I have often thought if the friends at home knew the good it does a poor soldier to receive a letter, and the downcast looks of the disappointed, they would employ their pens more faithfully than they appear to do for the "Boys of Fort Randall." The news came that a Major from Dacotah had been appointed to take command of the Fort. This was, like the former, a number of times contradicted and affirmed. But on Monday (3d ult.²⁵) Major Lyman came to the garrison, presenting his papers and demanding the assignment of the commandership of the post. But Capt. Pattee, believing his papers not sufficient, refused to give up the command. Thus for a day or two, nothing of interest excepting a few articles of correspondence between the two claimants, passed. On Tuesday following, the Major issued an order of arrest of Capt. Pattee in his quarters, which added greatly to the excitement and speculation. On Wednesday morning (5th ult.) showing additional papers, and convincing the officers of the garrison that he was entitled to the commandership, he entered upon his duties as Major commanding at Fort Randall. I believe the whole battalion is much dissatisfied.

If an officer from the regular army had been sent to take command, there would not have been heard a murmur of dissatisfaction. The Iowa boys believe it an imposition upon them, as volunteers from the State of Iowa, and are now praying that arrangements be made on the opening of the Missouri, for their removal, to join their regiment. . . .

Yours, W. W. Co. A.

²⁵ The misuse of "ult." instead of "inst." when the writer means "in the same month," is constant throughout these letters.

[Letter signed "W. W." in *Iowa City Republican*, Mar. 19, 1862.]

Fort Randall, Dacotah Ty., Feb 28th, 1862.

EDITORS REPUBLICAN:

As everything connected with the history of our country is read with great interest, I will attempt to give your readers a sketch and history of Fort Randall.

Properly speaking this is a garrison rather than a fort. It is situated South, on the second table-land, about 100 rods from the Missouri River, about 140 miles west of Sioux City, Iowa.

This table land comprises about one square mile of gentle sloping prairie, bounded on the South by high bluffs, from the peaks of which are seen on every hand vast regions of wild country — yonder the wide Missouri, bordered with lofty but varied bluffs, fringed with heavy timber and thick under brush, of but three or four summers growth, and the windings of many small streams, making at once a picture highly grand and captivating.

On the North [of] the first table land, covered [with] large timber, [is] the muddy "Massioux" (Mo.), North of which is to be seen, rising towards the clouds, the vapor from a large hot spring . . . and upon the summit of a distant bluff the Indians' burying ground; which shows that if Fort Randall is surrounded but by the wild sublimities of nature and the untutored savages, it possesses a romantic picture.

The garrison comprises about 100 buildings, built in an oblong square, having in the centre a delightful parade ground of 20 by 80 rods, in the center of which waves the bright emblem of our nation's pride.

At the South end of the parade ground is built what is known here as the Colonel's house. This is a fine building, and cost the Government about \$30,000! The other officers' quarters or buildings are upon the West side, band quarters on the North end, and the soldiers' on the east side, all facing the parade ground.

The officers' quarters are fine and comfortable, all lined with beautiful red Cedar; the soldiers' quarters are not so stylish, but yet comfortable and convenient.

On the East, about 30 rods from the soldiers' quarters, on a delightful spot, is the hospital — a fine building containing eight commodious and well furnished rooms. The main building is about 100 feet in length and 20 wide, having an L at each end of a room 20 feet square — a porch the

length of the building on each side, and in addition (but not connected) are the kitchen departments — all of which have been built with an eye to comfort and convenience of the sick and wounded soldier. The hospital is well supplied with medicine, surgical instruments, medical books and a barometer and thermometer attached.

North of the band quarters are the magazine, guard house, and three pieces of brass cannon; on the west of which are the commissary and store-house departments, all of which are constantly guarded.

West, or rear about 40 rods from the officers' quarters, are the garrison stables, which are large enough to accommodate about 100 horses or mules, and from 75 to 100 oxen.

Add to the above the sutler's store, postoffice, Gen. Todd's²⁶ private dwelling, and on the first table land the garrison's steam sawmill and two or three private dwellings, and you will conceive that Fort Randall has much the appearance of a thriving New England river town.

The selection of the grounds for Fort Randall was made in the early part of the spring of 1856 by Gen. Harney. Two companies under command of Capt. Davis (2nd Infantry, Col. Lee, U. S. A.) left Fort Pierre (which was on the Missouri River, about 250 miles from this garrison) bringing its effects, and arrived here in July ('56) where they found 250 new recruits from New York, for the regiment, under the command of Capt. Page. Early the coming autumn the building of the garrison was commenced. The following spring Capt. (now the hero of Wilson's Creek) the lamented Gen. Lyon,²⁷ left with his company, breaking up Fort Look-out, and arrived here in the month of July. After remaining nearly two years he left in June, '59, in command of two companies (2d Infantry) for Fort Riley, by way of Fort Kearney and Prairie Dog Creek, without even a guide, across a wild, untraveled country of 350 miles. And his silent quarters, now unoccupied, bring in their presence many a thrill of patriotic reverence, and their death-

²⁶ Gen. James B. S. Todd, a native of Kentucky, and a graduate of West Point, who had served in the Mexican War and under Gen. Harney in Dakota, resigned his commission in 1856 and became the sutler at Fort Randall. In 1861 he had been elected Dakota's first territorial delegate to Congress. In Sept., 1861, Lincoln appointed him a brigadier general of volunteers and placed him in command of the North Missouri Military District. *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 1:115.

²⁷ Nathaniel Lyon, in 1856 Captain of Co. B, 2nd U. S. Infantry, was a brigadier general in command of the troops in Missouri in 1861. He was killed at the Battle of Wilson's Creek, August, 1861, a battle in which the 1st Iowa Infantry fought. Some of the Iowa men at Fort Randall in 1862 had served in the 1st Iowa.

like stillness awakes unbidden the memories of the sad knells of Wilson's Creek. In July the remaining part of the regiment were relieved by the 4th Artillery, Col. Monroe. On the breaking out of the rebellion there were five companies occupying the garrison. In April, 1861, three companies, with the regimental band, Capt. Getty, left for the seat of war, leaving two companies, H. and M, Capt. Brown, to garrison the fort, which were relieved on the 7th of December, 1861, by companies A, B and C, Capt. Pattee, 14th regiment Iowa Volunteers. . . .

I am indebted to Luke Larvey, Esq., the Hospital Steward, for much of my information.

Yours, W. W.

[Wieneke Diary]

March 1st 1862 Recd a letter from my Dear Wife it has been snowing all day long the old signs say March comes in cold goes out warm I hope it is so. . . .

Tuesday March 4 this morning is altogether the most Disagreeable morning we have had this winter. the snow is blowing so hard that you can hardly see 20 feet off 4 oclock P. M. Still cold and windy as ever our room is all dust every thing is covered fully an $\frac{1}{8}$ of an Inch with Dust this is awful it Blows so hard that there is no use looking for the mail before next Sat. . . .

March 5th 1862 Wednesday Morning Wind Still Blowing hard as ever and fresh snow falling with it went over to the Cook room and could hardly get back for the wind this beats all I ever saw in the wind line — blow Blow Blow all day no stop, and no mail either. . . .

Friday Morn March 7 . . . got an ox team and 4 of us started down and got 2 loads of wood Started at 1 Ocl and returned at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Oclocck Mail came in at last. . . .

Sunday March 9th 1862 . . . there were 3 Indians put in the guard house here today for Killing a calf for the Jew. . . .

Sat March 22 Still windy — sold violin to Shep Poland²⁸ Still got jaw-ache took physick for it. . . .

Monday March 24th this morn is cooler again wind sharp the Ice

²⁸ Shephard Poland of Iowa City, Fourth Corporal of Co. B. *Roster and Record*, 5:1181.

broke this morn 5 PM it has risen about 6 feet the old steam ferry Boat lying [below] the mill all winter has broken loose from the bank and gone down the river this Even 2 men on board. . . .

April 1st 1862 morning wet & thawing wind from the east P. M. very pleasant clear. launched the ferry boat and tried to cross the river but too much Ice running Indians on this side afraid of being attacked by the Crow tribe and want to get across. . . .

Friday 4th . . . this evening at 8½ O'clock some one threw a snowball through the window of the Majors house and struck him on the back & then run through the alley back of our qrts. . . .

Monday Apr. 7th 1862 more snow. it seems as if summer never comes in this accursed country. Snow all day and blows too the deepest snow we have had this winter. . . .

[Letter signed "W. W." in *Iowa City Republican*, May 14, 1862.]

Ft. Randall, D. T.,

April 26, 1862.

DEAR EDS: — We are all excitement in Fort Randall. We have just received the news of the taking of Island No. 10, and the great battle at Pittsburg Landing, and while there is much to cause us to be proud, we yet feel sad at the loss of so many brave men. And as they bravely fell at the altar of their country, may we and our country never forget the sacredness of their memories.

In my communication of the 11th February ult., I stated that the command of this post had been surrendered to a man named Lyman, with a Major's commission. Much dissatisfaction was felt toward the imposition and nothing could have reconciled our feelings to the fate. On the 19th ult. the Major, after arranging his business, signed the commandership of the post to Capt. B. Mahanna, who is now Capt. commanding at Ft. Randall. We are in daily expectation of another change, in favor of Capt. Pattee, who we believe has, as well as the battalion (as Iowa volunteers), been unjustly treated.

The mails to Ft. Randall for the last two months have been very irregular — and they being the only source of pleasure to the pent up spirits — caused gloom to rest on every face. A number of the boys have received letters stating that companies are being raised in Iowa [This is news to the

people of Iowa. — Ed.] for Ft. Randall, to relieve us, that we may join our Regiment; which is received with exultant joy, as we are more than tired of the monotonies of Fort life, and wish to have a hand in reaping some of the glory gained by our brave fellow soldiers, meet the enemy face to face, and have the privilege of striking with our own hands, a blow against the hydra-headed monster rebellion.

We are in daily expectation of a government steamer, with which we expect the paymaster. We have yet received no pay from Uncle Sam. Although much in need of some of the "needful," we are waiting with patience, believing the old gentleman has not forgotten us.

The "boys at Ft. Randall" are doing well, but praying soon to leave for a field of more active service. Health among us is good; but few upon the sick list, none serious. . . .

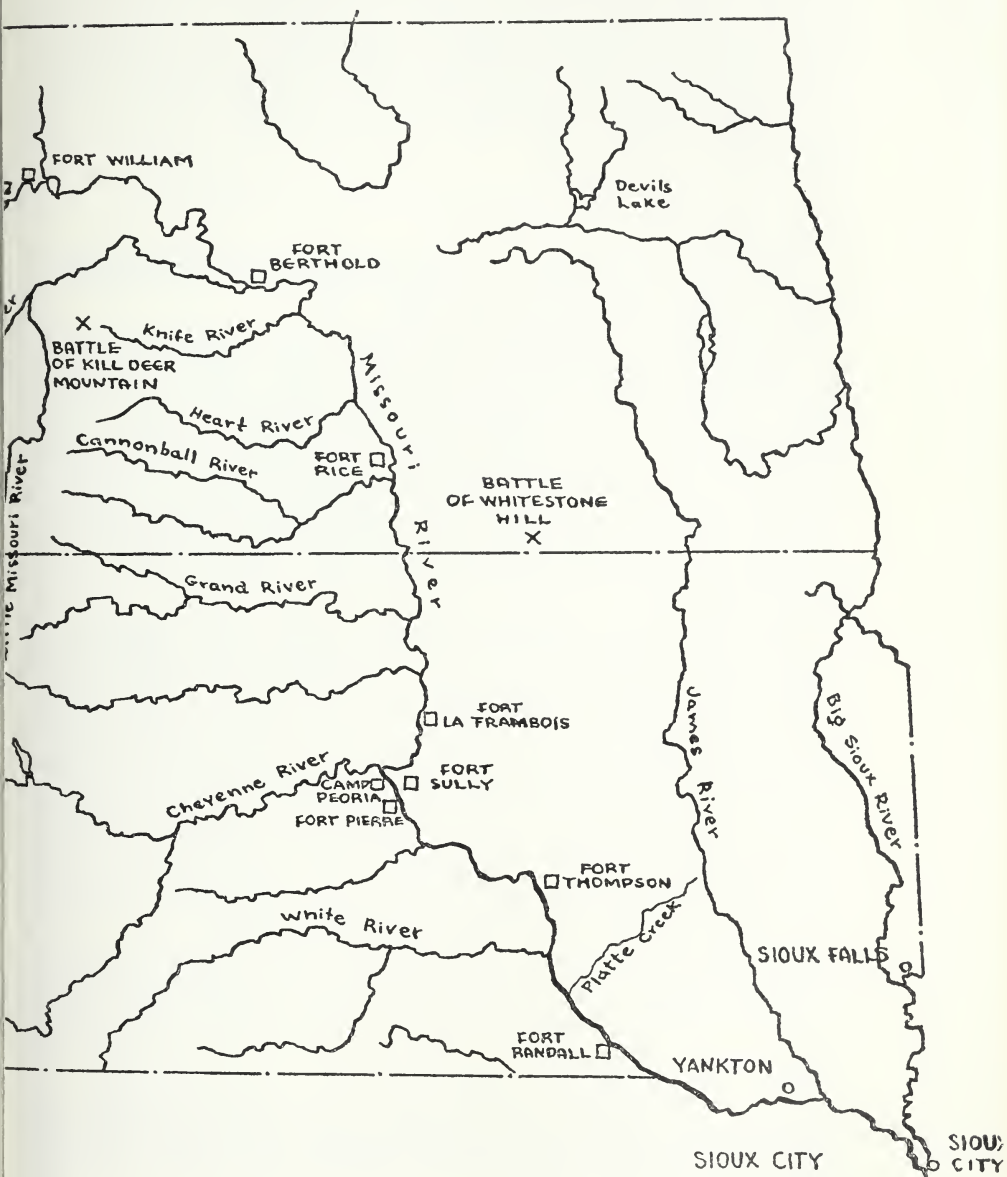
Yours, W. W.

[Letter from "W. W." in *Iowa City Republican*, May 28, 1862.]

Ft. Randall, D. T., May 11, 1862.

EDS. REPUBLICAN: Yesterday was a "big day" at Fort Randall. In my last I stated that Major Lyman, of Dacotah, had left, leaving the command of the post to Capt. Mahanna, and that we expected another change soon in favor of Capt. Pattee. The expectation has been fulfilled. On last Thursday (8th) the mail brought orders giving command of the garrison to Capt. Pattee, which he assumed on yesterday. New life filled the garrison, and the policy of the new administration was the theme on every lip, and you may rest assured many hearts were made glad that the honor of our beloved State was again brought to its proper dignity. It was soon seen that the change could not be passed in silence. Companies C and A (company B not participating), about 9 o'clock P. M. came in full uniform to give their reinstated commander a serenade, which was conducted by Capt. Wolf of Co. C. After due arrangements the companies were marched, headed by martial music, to the residence of the commander. After a number of stirring tunes were played in front of his (Capt. Pattee's) residence, J. W. Davis, Esq.,²⁹ was called upon and sang "Hurrah for the Union," in an appropriate manner, the audience joining in the chorus. Nearly 200 salute guns were fired, which made a grand spectacle; and at the close of

²⁹ Josiah W. Davis of Iowa City, Fifer in Co. A. *Ibid.*, 5:1168.



which three hearty cheers were given to Capt. Pattee. The Capt. then appeared, making a speech which was cheered throughout. The string band played a number of tunes with touching melody, at the close of which three "rousen" cheers rent the air, and the soldiers were marched to their quarters to enjoy a night of sweet repose. So you see Capt. Pattee is captain commanding at Fort Randall.

Yours, W. W.

[Wieneke Diary]

Thursday May 17th 1862 Capt. Mahana Lieuts Luse & Schell placed under arrest this A M Cause not known. . . .³⁰

June 2nd 1862 Letters this A. M. for the Capt to detail thirty men & non Commissioned officers to join on a scout up North of the fort about 35 miles I did not know as I was to start until the [illegible] was crossing the river when the Capt sent me up to [several words illegible] we had hardly crossed the river when a rainstorm came up and for about 15 minits it rained purety hard we marched about 4 miles and camped for the night on the edge of an Indian village of about 200 lodges Evening warm & sultry Mosquitoes plenty

Tuesday June 3d 62 started at 10 minits before 6 oclock morning very pleasant and sun shining arrived at Camp Sunfish Creek at 10³/₄ Oclock 11 miles from last Camp this camp was so called from the number of sunfish the Boys caught here the land today has been mostly very nice rolling prairie some high Bluffs but very little timber. our cooking this day had to be done with dry plum bushes the land all along looks like one continuous flower garden and the flowers all new and far prettier than in Iowa [several words illegible] took the Capt spyglass and went up on the bluffs looking off to the west we could see Buffalo grazing on a knoll about 3 miles away but it was so near retreat that we could not go after them

Wednesday June 4 day pleasant & Clear started at 6.30 and traveled about 6 miles when we were overtaken by Wallace Pattee³¹ who acted as Guide we traveled on until 2:15 P. M. when we arrived on Pratt [sic.

³⁰ These are the officers of Co. B. Evidently the animosity between Pattee and Mahana still existed. Mahana had taken over command of the Fort, after Lyman had left, and had not released Pattee from his imprisonment until ordered to do so by the War Department. See note 22.

³¹ Wallis Pattee, brother of Capt. Pattee, was at this time Second Sergeant of Co. A. *Roster and Record*, 5:1180.

Platte] Cr 16 miles from our last Camp the land we traveled over today was mostly undulating prairie & without a brush or stream the whole rout. the creek has a few stunted Cedars on [it] but they would not do us for fire wood more than 3 weeks [they are] all that we can see for 4 miles up and down the Creek this day we could get a glimpse of Buffalo & also 4 antelope & large numbers of ducks.

Thursday June 5th 1862 Morning pleasant & Cool the night was Cooler than comfortable but the day is warm enough again started at 6.30 down the Creek which we found was only a branch of the Pratt Creek and Camped about 4 miles farther Southwest on a beautiful Platteau of about 5 acres extent on a bed of the Creek the water here is cool and as clear as Chrystal caught a mess of sun fish and Cleaned them and Cooked some dinner this is the extent of my forenoon work this is called Pratt Creek Camp this P. M. Sargt Lewis³² & 2 privates were sent down the Creek to find out how far the Missouri was off this is the most deceiving ground that I ever looked at [illegible] I will set down what happened About 2 Oclock I took the Capt Spy glass & went up on the bluff west of the Creek and looking off on the farthest Bluff to the west we could see distinctly Indians on the top of them strung along for a mile or more and they seemed to be watching our actions they seemed to Come up on top of the hill and then dodge back after looking at us then some of them would get down on their hands & knees and crawl along and then suddenly disappear I returned to camp and Called the Capt and he and 4 other men came up and all said that they were Indians we then came back and obeyed the Instructions by displaying our forces on the Bluff and Sargt Cherry & several others went up on the Bluff with the glass again and looked and kept advancing on them at last some of them said they could see ponies and after traveling about 1 mile they found that they were in a Prarie Dog Town and all our Indians were Prarie Dogs and these could be seen for 1½ miles & looked through the spyglass as tall as Indians and with the naked eye not much less.

Friday June 6th 62 this A M a party of 5 men under Sarg Lewis went out northwest onto the Bijou Hills to hunt will return tomorrow Even Capt & I went out to see the Dog town this Morn it is situated on a bluff with the centre on the top of the hill it is about 2 miles long by 1½ miles

³² James L. Lewis of Cedar County, Third Sergeant of Co. B. *Ibid.*, 5:1177.

wide — we could see them poking their heads out every 8 or 10 feet apart I think that we could see as many as 1000 of them at once this is a hot day too hot for Exercise so we lay in the tent from 9 Oclock on except when I Cooked dinner this consisted of fried meat slapjacks & Coffee until 6 Oclock when there was a short drill Boys had been down the Creek to the river and all say that there is such a pretty Country around there that we are anxious to go there, and Capt. says we may move the Camp down there monday

Sat June 7th 1862 morning hot again nothing new the Boys have been trying to shoot some of those dogs but could not get any after they had shot them as the other dogs would drag them into the holes. out of about 50 shot they only succeeded in getting two of the dogs and they were shot right in two there are some of the prettiest Cactus plants here that I ever laid my eyes on. if we only got our mail regular then I would be satisfied to stay here all summer. not a day without some excitement this A. M. was near being too much for me I went down to wash my self in the Creek and not knowing that the water was so deep I jumped into water about 10 ft deep and could not swim a bit if it had not been for some of the boys helping me out it would have been the last of the old Bugler The Hunting Det[ail] returned at 1 Oclock but no game they report the Country about the same as we traveled over on the 4th after traveling about 24 miles they got to the Bijou hills and found oak timber and a very cool spring — shot at wolves which they said were very plenty up there. . . .

Sunday A. M. June 8th Robt Quinn & Th Stewart³³ Started for the fort to get some small Notions for the Boys. . . . P. M. 3 Oclock just returned from a tour over the hills and hollows of about 4 miles length nothing new seen except closing up a wolf Den with rock it will be a good joke on the wolf if he was in it he will not get out very easy I find a great many herbs & flowers growing wild here that we must cultivate in Iowa — the wild roses are almost as large again as the wild roses in Iowa and some as white as the Snow, other red as roses, as the saying is, flowering peas, Sage, the Herb called Old Man. another thing I think I have discovered without doubt is that there is gold in these Bluffs and if I had the implements I would soon find out for certain. I can see it glisten in the dust. I have been picking up pieces of quartz with gold in it. . . .

³³ Robert Quinn of Iowa City and Thomas Stewart (also Steward) of Iowa City, privates in Co. B. *Ibid.*, 5:1182, 1185.

Monday June 9th 1862 . . . a lot of the Boys going to the mouth of the Creek to catch some fish Capt. & myself took a stroll up on the bluff to look for Cactus & Other Curiosities and walked so far as our old Camp . . . & I accidentally started up an antelope but before I could get a cap in the rifle he was so far away that I did not think it worth while to shoot they are a verry pretty animal this one was about 18 inches high and jumped about 5 ft each leap returned to Camp about 10 oclock after walking about 7 miles P. M. Boys Drilled from 5 to 7 Oc. and shot at Target 225 yds at a Bbl Head only 2 shot struck it but the rest came close around it showing that although they might not do for sharp shooters they would do good execution in a battle

Tuesday June 10th 1862 . . . Mail arrived & also Lieut Schell & Orderly Dennis³⁴ & several visitors . . . orders to move Camp down to Mouth of Creek — broke up camp at 1 Oclock and arrived at Camp Hamilton at 5 Oclock pretty place . . .

Thursday June 12 . . . Muskatoes pretty thick last night one Curious sight here is to see birds perch themselves on top of Cattle & hogs & sit there no matter how fast they run I discovered the Indian turnip today the tops have a verry pretty flower on the Potatoe has a kind of Hull on it like a Cream nut they taste very sweet

Friday June 13th 1862 . . . I wish Capt M were here instead of Lieut Schell there is no order in the Camp. Nothing but playing Cards & swearing it is a perfect hell since Capt. M is gone the Settlers here all have Indian wives — they are all down at the agency at present getting their pay from Govt . . .

[Letter from "W. W." in *Iowa City Republican*, July 9, 1862.]

Ft. Randall, June 16th, 1862

EDITORS REPUBLICAN: Having "Leave of Absence," I started in company with my good friends Kelly, Clark, Edwards³⁵ and others, on Saturday morning, 14th for Yankton Agency, where . . . 100 men, under Lieut. Cooper,³⁶ had been sent to meet, in case of attack, the dissatisfied Indians.

³⁴ George W. Dennis of Solon, Sergeant of Co. B. *Ibid.*, 5:1169.

³⁵ William Kelly of Iowa City; Wilson M. Clark of Cedar Falls or Henry B. Clark of Whitewater, Wisconsin, privates of Co. A, and James D. Edwards of Fairfield, private of Co. B. *Ibid.*, 5:1166, 1170, 1175.

³⁶ Francis H. Cooper of Cedar Falls, First Lieut. of Co. A. *Ibid.*, 5:1166.

After crossing the Missouri, we followed for some mile or two, a small creek whose bottoms were entirely dotted with Indian cornfields, measuring from $\frac{1}{8}$ to 3 acres in size. After leaving which, we traveled some 12 or 15 miles on high rolling prairie.

At about 1 o'clock, P. M., we halted before the camp of our own comrades. After the ceremonies of our glad meeting were over, our attention was drawn to the vast number of Indian lodges (called by the Sioux Tepees), which dotted in heavy clusters the surrounding bluffs, collected from the different parts of the Territory, now numbering more than 2,200 and more coming — to receive their annual annuities from "Uncle Sam."³⁷

It seems to be the chief enjoyment of the Indians, to be engaged in his wild and ceremonial dances, among which the most noted are the Annual Sun Dance, Scalp and Pony Dance. An account of the former, I will give in the language of my friend Guernsey,³⁸ of Co. "C," which he permits me to quote from his journal: "Early in the morning of the 7th, the Indians commenced building a kind of arbor about 40 feet in diameter, with a large pole in the center, and the sides of brush. — This was covered with poles and skins. About noon, everything being in readiness, eight Indians appeared as dancers, naked to the waist, a cotton garment reaching just below the knees, completed their costume.

Their black unbound hair, floating over their shoulders, gave them a wild appearance. Around each wrist and ankle was tied a band of white fur. The upper part of their bodies and their faces were covered with heavy paint. Each had a wooden whistle, upon which they blew with the beat of their Indian drum. The dance commenced amid the beating of the drum, and the singing and whooping of the singer, the dancers uttering not a sound.

They kept their faces to the Sun; and as they danced, held their hands toward it, making heavy gestures. About Sunset, four stakes, about seven feet high, were set firmly in the ground, and a strong lariat attached to the top of each. Then they took a "*Gentle Savage*" and laid him on his back between the four stakes, punctured the skin with a knife just below each breast, like a rowel, run a stick through the wound, and fastened a lariat to

³⁷ The Yankton Agency, near the town of Yankton, at the confluence of the James and Missouri Rivers, handled the affairs of the Yankton band of Sioux Indians.

³⁸ Byron H. Guernsey of Wheatland, Fourth Corp. of Co. C. *Roster and Record*, 5:1172.

each stick, by a strong thong, after which he was turned on his face, and two more were inserted in the same manner, immediately below the shoulder blades, fastened to the two remaining lariats. He was then assisted to his feet, the music and singing striking up, and all commencing to dance. In a few minutes he was free, having pulled in his dancing on the lariats until the pins through the flesh were *torn out*. On the next morning, the remaining seven went through the same wild and barbarous ceremony.

During the entire proceedings, not a lip quivered, not a muscle moved, to denote that they experienced anything but the most exquisite pleasure. Everything was done with the stoical indifference peculiar to the savage. These were now distinguished with the peculiar honor of becoming members of the "Strong Heart Band," which is a peculiarly lofty rank for the aspiring Indian.

I must not fail stating that on the 5th ult., Capt. Pattee and Dr. Burleigh,³⁹ Indian Agent at Yankton, found secreted about 600 gallons of liquor, calculated for Indians and soldiers, which they destroyed, saving, no doubt, much trouble and perhaps blood shed, as the Indians, when intoxicated, are ungovernable.

In my last I forgot to state that we have been reinforced by a cavalry company of this Territory, under command of Capt. Minor. — The Indians are all quiet.⁴⁰

Yours in haste, W. W.

[Wieneke Diary]

Camp Mules Head June 25 packed up and marched at 5 O'clock arrived at Camp at 10 O'clock 10 miles morning cool met a Frenchman and his Squaw he on a Pony & his Squaw in a cart. they were going up

³⁹ Dr. Walter A. Burleigh, a native of Maine, had been rewarded by Lincoln for his support in the 1860 campaign by appointment as Indian agent at the Yankton Agency in 1861. He was largely instrumental in getting the troops under General Alfred Sully assigned to protect the Dakota frontier in 1863. *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 1:130-31.

⁴⁰ A treaty had been signed with the Yankton Sioux in 1858 by which the Indians surrendered some 14 million acres of land at a price of 12 cents an acre and annual annuities and other considerations. Howard Robert Lamar, *Dakota Territory, 1861-1889, A Study of Frontier Politics* (New Haven, Conn., 1956), 38. There had been no serious Indian troubles in Dakota since that time, but the troops were ever on the lookout for an Indian uprising, especially after the outbreak of the Civil War had taken the experienced army regiments to the south.

to his claim about 5 miles above our last camp dog town on the flat above our camp our Camp is situated on a verry pritty Platteau of about 2 miles long by 7 [?] wide surrounded on 2 sides by high Bluffs and on the upper end by a deep ravine and on the south by the Missouri as muddy as ever and on the rise all covered by trees &c below us is a verry pretty grove principally Burr Oak. . . .

Thursday June 26th . . . I have just finished climbing one of the highest and hardest sett of hills that I ever walked on and am now enjoying the pleasure of one of the most grand sights that ever my gaze rested on on the south west is the Missouri in all its prettiest shape for over 10 miles its banks are covered with trees for about 4 miles with 5 Islands in sight while right below me are piled Bluff upon bluff interspersed with clumps of Cedar trees and about 1/2 mile below me are the detachment pulling the wagon and cattle up the side of a steep bluff while behind me is a long stretch of rolling prairie surrounded on all sides by high Buttes or Bluffs. started along and got to comp at 10 Ocl this was traveling 4 miles per hour and the sun as hot as I ever saw it on the road I took my Blouse off & put in on the scouts horse which Lieut was riding and afterwards we stopped at Frienchmen house that was arrested last winter for the murder of another man and kept in the Guard house long time here Lieut left my Blouse & not telling me anything of it it was left behind — so I am without one this Eve

[Wieneke letter to wife]

Fort Randall D. T.

July 3rd 1862

Dear Wife . . . I have been buisy this P. M. Mr. Gui of Iowa City came out here with a stock of paper, envelops, segars, pipes &c and I bought some and am retailing it out I hope to make a little money in this way at least enough to pay for my tobacco & pipes for a few months I also bought me a gold pen however much I need the money I thought maybe I could write so much better to my sweet wife as to make it pay to buy another one but I must close for today and tomorrow Eve I will give you an account of my doings the Fourth of July. . . .

Friday July 4th 1862

. . . I have been working with Julius and have just done and attended Guard mount we have been baking Sprig, Sugar & Ginger cakes Boiling

hams Baking pies & Biscuits and numerous other things too numerous to mention for our dinner. and I have been selling some more paper &c and altogether have been very buisy.

Well I must quit now until after the great parade, and then I will tell you about it One thing I must tell you now is that the Honorable Commissioners are having a big party all to themselves since they could not get the Privates to furnish them with a dinner.

P. M. 2 Oclock July 4th 1862

well thus far the day is passed very pleasantly and not much mishap except that our sarg'ts are all drunk as fools. it is a Shame that men should act so and men on whom duty involves such as on them. the Parade and Firing of Salute all passed off[f] very pleasantly. 34 volleys with Cannon and the same with 200 muskets. . . .

6 Oclock P. M.

I have been down and heard the Speaking some of it was very good and some of it not so good

W. W. Jones was principal Speaker and a good speech he made too. Several other Speeches were good but some of them commenced getting personal on our Officers and this did not suit me very well they Commenced running on our Officers who were up at the Picknick and only got down after the Performances were almost through with. the Capt came down and heard some of the fuss and stepped in and Spoke on it and soon hushed it up. . . .

Ft Randall D T July 5th /62

Dear Wife . . . I have sent a Buffalo Robe to you by Mr. Gewey Mr. Luse the auctioneer's Partner⁴¹ you can get it by sending down there the charges are paid on it it is a pretty one my name is on it it will do first rate for the Dear children to roam about on this next winter I traded a Blanket on it. I like them better to sleep under and on than on blankets. Dear wife if I had known about the team's coming I would have sent you a couple of Beaver skins too but I could not get them now. . . .

I have been doing a big buissness this P. M. Sold 33 dollars worth of goods principally pocket combs Pocket Knives & Gold Pens. I made 6 dollars clear money this I think will do well enough for 1 days work in Fort Randall. . . .

Henry J. Wieneke

⁴¹ Lieut. Luse of Co. B. See note 8.

[Letter from "W. W." in *Iowa City Republican*, Aug. 6, 1862.]

Ft. Randall, D. T.,
July 27, 1862

EDS. REPUBLICAN: In my letter of June last, I stated that many of our men had been sent on scouting parties to different parts of the country, difficulties being apprehended from the Indians. After some weeks travel and watch they have returned without meeting any of the fighting foe, although alarmed at various times and points.

The Indian mode of warfare is that of surprise and murder. Some six weeks ago a warparty of the Sioux returned after a warring expedition with some 30 scalps, over which they had the warrior's scalp dance, for about two weeks, continuing night and day almost without intervals. After making some inquiry, I learned the Braves (the warriors) had fallen upon a defenceless body of Pawnee women and children, engaged in planting their corn fields. This is the manner the Braves of the North West fight, and if it was not for the presence of the soldiers, the citizens of Dakota and Nebraska would be without mercy, murdered, their fields laid waste, and their houses pillaged and given to the flames. Treachery and barbarity is the composition of the Indian.

The Steamer Shreveport (once a rebel steamer on Red River) has just arrived from Ft. Benton, making the trip (2000 miles) in about 15 days, bringing very flattering reports from the Gold Regions. One of the miners from the Dear [sic] Lodge diggings stated that there were between 7000 and 8000 men now in the Salmon River Country, mostly from California and Oregon, and that mining was as "good as it was in the brightest days of California," but was unable to speak as to their extent. He reported provisions very high, flour, \$25.00 per hundred, Sugar \$3.00 per lb. He believed the country well adapted for farming, soil good, timber plenty and alive with game for the hunter. . . .

Yours, W. W.

[Letter from "W. W." *Iowa City Republican*, Oct. 1, 1862.]

Fort Randall, D. T.,
Sept. 4, 1862

MESSRS. EDITORS: The trumpet of alarm has been sounded, but whether danger is near Fort Randall or not, is more than we are able to tell; yet the

citizens, half breeds and the friendly Indians are scared with the apprehension of an immediate attack.⁴²

The citizens are crowding into the garrison, leaving their farms, crops and dwellings to the mercy of the ruthless Savage, offering their every assistance, and to stand side by side with the soldier, for the hour of defence. The Indians are wild and frantic, and their women and children are leaving for places of concealment and safety from the expected storm. They are also vigorously engaged in burying their corn, to keep it secure from the confiscation of the warriors. On the opposite side of the river, during the day, the Indians have been traveling in immense numbers, some of their trains extending from one to two miles in length, on their way for other parts, and whether on a friendly or rebellious move (they claim to be friendly) we are yet to learn. It seems that the tribes of the Northwest are kindled for some great demonstration, and exultant with the thought of triumphant success. I feel as hundreds of others, that there is a perception surpassing and superior to that of the untutored Indian, planning their movements.⁴³ Tribes heretofore always at enmity are now united—and the great tribes of Sioux, Cutheads and the Yanktons⁴⁴ are moving in concert, and with such a precision that it is without a parallel in Indian history. The prevailing idea among the Indians is that the great Father's (the President's) people are about all being killed in a great war, and that they are

⁴² In August of 1862 the Sioux in Minnesota, under Chief Little Crow, had risen and massacred several hundred settlers on the frontier of that state. Minnesota troops under Brig. Gen. Henry H. Sibley, former governor of Minnesota, were not strong enough to punish the culprits, and Little Crow and his tribe had escaped westward into Dakota, taking a number of white women and children captives with them. Maj. Gen. John Pope, after his failures in the East, was appointed to command a new Department of the Northwest on Sept. 6, 1862, and had been sent to Minnesota to organize an army to pursue and punish the Sioux. See Louis H. Roddis, *The Indian Wars of Minnesota* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1956), 61-125 *passim*. News of this outbreak in Minnesota frightened the settlers and the peaceable Indians in Dakota.

⁴³ Many believed that Confederate agents were instigating the Indians to revolt; others that the British in Canada were guiding them.

⁴⁴ The Sioux or Dakota Indians included both the Yankton and the Cuthead tribes. Following are the divisions of the Dakota-Assiniboin group of the Siouan family: "1, Mdewakanton; 2, Wahpekute (forming, with the Mdewakanton, the Santec); 3, Sisseton; 4, Wahpeton; 5, Yankton; 6, Yanktonai; 7, Teton (a) Sichangu or Brules, (b) Itazipcho or Sans Arcs, (c) Sihasapa or Blackfeet, (d) Miniconjou, (e) Oohenonpa or Two Kettles, (f) Oglala, (g) Hunkpapa; 8, Assiniboin." Frederick Webb Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (2 vols., Washington, 1910), 2:579.

going to get another Father who will do better, and provide for them more pork, beans and sugar, and that they will be granted back the land of the big Masioux (Mo.) and live eternally rich. These speculative ideas have no doubt been planted and stimulated in the bosom of the ignorant red man, by designing men, to embarrass the Government and inaugurate a border war.

Citizens who have lived among the Indians for twenty years, say they have never seen them so much excited and war like. Our Garrison is yet safe, but alive with the music of the ax, spade and saw, preparing for a better defence. We look, indeed, war like in Fort Randall, and begin to feel that we shall soon try our skill as soldiers with our muskets; and you may rest assured if the opportunity is presented, that Iowa will not lose any of her laurels by the "boys at Fort Randall." Our Captain (Pattee, Commander of Post), is busily engaged in building some block houses, &c., to give the warriors as warm reception as their honor may require.

Yours in hope of a victory.

W. W.

P.S. The report has just arrived this morning (5th) that the Indians have taken Bonhomme and Yankton, burning them to the ground, killing a number of the inhabitants, and are on their way to this post.⁴⁵

W.

[Wieneke Diary]

Friday Nov 14th⁴⁶ 62 Cavalry came up from Yankton this day Cold as blazes and stormy. . . .

⁴⁵ This, of course, was not true, but typical of the rumors circulating on a frightened frontier.

⁴⁶ There is a break in the Wieneke diaries, from July to November. After the battle of Wood Lake in Minnesota on Sept. 23, 1862, when the Indians were defeated, some of them had escaped westward into Dakota and had worked their way to the Missouri River above Fort Pierre, about 160 miles north of Fort Randall. Reports brought to Capt. Pattee told of white women prisoners with the Indians. He immediately set about organizing an expedition to march to Fort Pierre to see if the women could be rescued, and on Nov. 24, 1862, received orders from Gen. Pope to march to Pierre. A cavalry company at Sioux City (later to be part of the 7th Iowa Cavalry) was also ordered to assist him. He left Fort Pierre on Nov. 26 with Co. B, 17 men from Co. A, with a battery of one 12-pound Mountain howitzer gun and one 3-pound rifled gun, plus 70 men of the Dakota Cavalry. Pattee, "Dakota Campaigns," 283-4; Roddis, *Indian Wars of Minnesota*, 13-27. On Sept. 18, 1862, the three companies, A, B, and C, of the 14th Iowa had been reorganized into the 41st Iowa Infantry Battalion, and Capt. Pattee had been promoted to Major of the Battalion. *Roster and Record*, 5:1162.

Monday Nov 17 Nothing new great Excitement about the Expedition up the river to Ft Pierre⁴⁷

Camp No 3 Sat Nov 29th 1862 Started at day Break this A M and traveled Twenty miles to the main branch of Ponka Creek a very nice Camp but the wind rose very hard this day and this Eve at dark it is storming as hard as ever it did six or seven of our men went on ahead of the train and at 8 oclock we have not heard of them I pity them very much

Sunday Nov 30th well we started this am through an awful snow storm built a bridge across a branch of the creek and traveled about Ten miles over very rough hills and through Hollows & camped in a very nice bottom on a branch of Ponca Creek we are having alternate storms and sunshine the Lost Boys have not been heard from yet Sargt Lewis has been sent up the Creek to hunt for the Boys 3 Oclock P. M. one of the guides who was out all night hunting for the boys he says that there were Three of the lost Boys come back to the Cavalry Camp almost dead, saying that old Canon⁴⁸ was found almost dead on the road and perfectly Crazy they tried to get him along with them to the Cavalry camp but could not do so and they being very near tired out had to hurry on to the Camp the Guide or scout went back to get him but he was not to be found what has become of him is not known

Monday Dec 1st No 4 The Cavalry came in yester Eve late bringing in all but Cannon who is reported as being seen day before yesterday laying frozen and stiff but the other boys being so near given out they could not take him with them. . . .

[Letter from John Pattee, in *Iowa City Press*, Dec. 20, 1862.]

Camp No 5

On the March from Ft. Randall to Ft. Pierre,

Dec. 1, 1862

Editor Sioux City Register: I wish to make known through your paper

⁴⁷ "Old" Fort Pierre was originally a post of the American Fur Co., established by Pierre Chouteau in 1832. The post was sold to the United States in 1855; in 1857 the government abandoned it, and moved the troops there to Fort Randall. In 1859 traders of the American Fur Co. built a new Fort Pierre about two miles above the original fort. *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 1:105-106, 369-70. See also Wilson, "Fort Pierre and Its Neighbors," *ibid.*, 263-96.

⁴⁸ See note 15.

that while on the march to the Sauntee⁴⁹ camp to recover prisoners taken in Minnesota, in accordance with instructions from Gen. Pope, I met the following women and children who had been ransomed through the assistance of some friendly Indians: Mrs. Julia Wright, wife of John W. Wright, and daughter Eldosa; Mrs. Laura Duley, wife of Wm. J. Duley; Emma, daughter of Mrs Duley; a son of J. M. Duley; Rosanna and Ellen, daughters of Thomas Ireland, and Lilla, daughter of Wm. Everett.⁵⁰

They will go to Fort Randall immediately and there wait eight or ten days, to procure clothing, &c., to make them comfortable, and then proceed to Cedar Falls, and there wait until they hear from their friends. They learned to-day that their husbands, whom they supposed dead, are still living; but they do not know where they are at present.

They have friends at or near Belvidere, Illinois, and I trust that the Press of Iowa will give a notice of their recovery so that they may soon be able to find their husbands and friends.

I have with me 180 rank and file, and they have made glad the hearts of these poor captives by presenting them over \$250.

They have been captives since August 22d, and have suffered terribly. The Sauntee camp where they have been for some time is 250 miles above Fort Randall, and we *hope* to find it, and teach them such a lesson as General Harney did the Indians at Ash Hollow.⁵¹ Be assured of one thing, *we will take no prisoners.*

My command here consists of 70 cavalry, Dacotah, 92 infantry Co B,

⁴⁹ The Indians from Minnesota were known as the Santee Sioux. See note 44.

⁵⁰ Major Charles E. Galpin, a member of the La Barge, Harkness & Co. fur company, had seen these women while coming down the river from posts farther north. He had reported the presence of the captives to Pattee at Fort Randall. Pattee, "Dakota Campaigns," 283, 285-6, 350; Charles P. Barbier, "Recollections of Ft. La Framboise in 1862 and the Rescue of Lake Chetak Captives," *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 11:232ff (1922). The two women rescued were Mrs. John W. Wright and Mrs. William J. Duly. They had been captured, along with their children, at Lake Shetak in Minnesota on Aug. 20, 1862. A few young braves from the Two Kettle Band, known as "Fool Soldiers" or the "Fool Band" among the Indians because of their decision to rescue the white captives, at last succeeded in buying the white women and children, bartering supplies of food and their horses for them. The Indians delivered the captives to two French-Canadian fur traders, Frederick Dupree and Louis LaPlant, who in turn brought them to Major Pattee. See Doane Robinson, "A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians . . .," *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 2:306-313 (1904).

⁵¹ Gen. Wm. S. Harney had defeated a band of Brule Sioux at Ash Hollow in 1855. *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 1:107-108.

41st Iowa, and a section of a battery, 2 guns, manned by 17 men of Co. A, 41st Iowa.

Yours, &c.,

J. PATTEE,

Major, 41st Iowa.

[Letter from Wm. A. McCaddon,⁵² in *Iowa City Press*, Dec. 20, 1862.]

Camp on Ponca Creek,

December 2, 1862.

Dear Brother: We are now sixty miles from Fort Randall and on our way to Fort Pierre. We met a Frenchman this morning direct from Fort Pierre. He had two white women and six children, which he had got from the Indians, and was on his way to Fort Randall with them. They are now in camp with us and we are raising a subscription for them.

There is already about \$250 raised for them. They have been with the Indians ever since the 1st [sic] of August, and have been horribly treated by the infernal red skins. If I had time and space I would give you their whole history since they were taken prisoners. It is indeed awful, the way they were treated.

The weather has been very cold since we left the Fort, but we are getting along very well. We have lost one man since we left and it is supposed that he is frozen to death and eaten by the wolves. His name was Edward Cannon. I expect you recollect him, he was an Irishman. He and six others started out of camp in the morning before the train, and walked about thirty miles, to where they supposed we would camp. But we did not get that far, but left the trail and went about six miles to the left, and camped in the timber. — And the Boys, finding that we were not coming on, started back about dark to find our camp. But by the time they got back to where we turned off, it was snowing and so dark that they could not see our track, so they walked all night, managing to keep the trail. About twelve o'clock at night Cannon gave out, and was so near frozen that they were obliged to leave him. The rest of them kept on toward the Fort and about eight o'clock in the morning they met a squadron of cavalry, that were one day's march in our rear. They then returned to where they left Cannon, but there was nothing there but his gun, knapsack and cartridge box. So

⁵² William A. McCaddon of Iowa City, Second Corp., Co. B, 41st Iowa Infantry. *Roster and Record*, 5:1177. See note 18.

his fate is unknown. It may be that he was picked up by some Indians, but it is very doubtful. . . .

Yours, &c.,
Wm. A. McCaddon

[Letter from "W. W." in *Iowa City Republican*, Jan. 6, 1863.]

Fort Randall, D. T.,
Dec. 20th, 1862.

Eds. Republican: In my last I referred to some prisoners, who had been released from the "Santees," and brought to Ft. Randall; and promised at my earliest opportunity to give a sketch of their sad story for the readers of the *Republican*.

The prisoners released numbered thirteen — five half breeds, the remaining eight, Mrs. Duley, her daughter aged nine years and her little son aged five years, Mrs. Julia Wright and her little daughter aged five years, two daughters of Thos. Ireland, aged nine and seven years, and a little daughter of William Everett. . . .

The prisoners were surprised and taken captives at Lake Shetek, Minn., on the 21st or 22nd of August last. During their capture, and the inhuman massacre, they had silently to witness deeds of the basest cruelty; their neighbors when giving themselves up to the assassins shot like wild beasts, and their neighbor's defenceless children inhumanly murdered. Their horrid yells of satisfaction, and their thirstings for blood, chilled the stoutest heart.

Mrs. Duley had one of her children shot, another by the hands of a squaw had its brains beaten out with a board which she then wiped upon the grassy sod, a third, of about two and one half years, was shot for weeping for its parent. Her little son who is with her was often threatened, and once or twice shot at, but missed, and her little daughter whom she has succeeded in bringing along, was shot through the elbow, which has become entirely calloused [*sic*]. Mrs. Wright had one of her children shot, and the evening after their capture, she was forced to prepare at her own house (as she was known to a number of the warriors) supper for the entire band. She saw many of her friends and neighbors fall at the aim of the assassins. Mrs. Duley and Mrs. Wright were forced to drive ox teams the entire distance from Minnesota to the Missouri River, and often had to travel the

entire day without water to quench their thirst, and at no time were they in the march, permitted to ride or rest their weary bodies, while stalworth [sic] and merciless Indians crowded the wagons. They traveled about six weeks. Mrs. Wright had been at the early part of their march shot in the foot by a squaw, which gave her great pain as her toes were badly torn by the shot. Two of the children were also compelled to walk the entire distance.

They reached the Missouri River about the 27th of October last, 100 miles above Fort Pierre, and were released from the Santees about the 17th of November, and traveled the one hundred miles to Fort Pierre in five days.

During their captivity they were subject to the most cruel barbarities. Mrs. Duley was sold twice, and Mrs. Wright three times into the possession of different Indians, subject to their every dictation and will. . . .

While telling their sad story, they were often moved to tears, and their feelings entirely overcome them while telling many of the sad incidents of their captivity. May the remainder of their days be peace! The officers and soldiers have generously contributed between four and five hundred dollars to their relief.

Yours, W. W.

[Wieneke letter to wife]

Ft Lafromboise⁵³ Dakotah Ter

Jan 3rd 1863

I am still well as usually I have been hard at work today we have been digging a trench around the outside of three sides of our fort and tomorrow we are going to get out some timber to put up pickets outside of the houses to keep the Cattle and ponies in at nights this will make a space of Twelve feet more room behind each side of the houses. . . .

Jan 6th

. . . Yesterday Eve we had a very Exciting time hunting for some of the

⁵³ Fort La Framboise, built by the fur trader Francois La Framboise in 1862, was some three miles above Fort Pierre. Built as a trading post, not a fort, it had no stockade, but the buildings formed the enclosure. *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 1:362, 365-6. After the rescue of the captives, the Santees, hearing that Pattee had 1,000 cavalry with him, had fled northward about 200 miles. Pattee then sent the Dakota cavalry and the battery of Co. A back to Fort Randall, to which he himself returned, leaving Co. B at the trading post of La Framboise. Pattee, "Dakota Campaigns," 288-9.

Saunttee Indians that were in the Massacre in Minnesota last fall. Just at sunset yester Eve some of the yankton Indians who live about a mile and a half from here on the other side of the river came in and said that there were Several male and female Sauntees come to their Camp almost starved and wanting to buy some provisions. Lieut Luse ordered Fifteen men out and in less than Two minits there were Eighteen of us ready guns loaded and Capped in ranks we started and went across the river double quick sliding falling with no other accident but one man's falling into an air hole and being pulled out all safe Lafromboise went with us as Guide and Interpreter in about Five minits we arrived at the Yankton Camp and opening our files surrounding the Camp on all sides we kept all Indians in not letting a single one pass through the Lieut and Lafromboise went in and Examined the Lodges but without success the Game had flown the Indians said they had seen us come across the Ice and cleared out but were camped back at the Bluffs about Two miles away we started out and soon saw the light of their fire we started out through the high Grass and weeds (by this time it was dark) soon we lost sight of the fire and did not see any more of it afterwards after hunting for some time Climbing Bluffs and sliding down on the other sides of them on our back sides until I wore my pants out we started back for the fort where we arrived about 8 Oclock, having traveled about Ten miles in Two hours and a half. . . .

[Letter from "W. W." in *Iowa City Republican*, Feb. 18, 1863.]

Ft. Randall, D.T., Jan. 29, 1863.

Dear Republican: Reports of a number of Isantees [Santees] (Indians) camped some thirty-five or forty miles up the Missouri River, from this post, being brought to the garrison, Major Pattee and Lieutenant Bacon, with some twenty men of the Dakota cavalry with three day's rations, left early on the morning of the 22d ult., for the purpose of capturing them. On the 25th, more supplies being sent for by the Major, a team was sent with two day's additional rations for the detachment. After a laborous [sic] expedition of five days they returned on the 27th with thirty-one Indians, five lodges and six horses. Their condition, according to the Major's report, was quite destitute. Yet in one or two instances they showed fight rather than be taken. But through the cool bravery of the officers, and the ready perception and the determined action of the interpreters and soldiers, not a gun was fired; although if a single discharge had been made the

slaughter would have been a savage and bloody one. They are now in close quarters in the garrison and well guarded, awaiting their investigation and trial; some of whom will no doubt be found guilty, as there were found in their possession blankets, sheets, dresses, stockings, carpet-sacks, and various other articles, which had been taken from the whites, without doubt in the Minnesota Massacre.⁵⁴

To-morrow, under orders of Major Pattee, Lieut. Bacon, with a detachment of thirty men of his company (Dakota cavalry) with ten day's rations, are to leave for the purpose of taking, if possible, a number of Isantees, reported to be camped some eighty or a hundred miles on the river west of this Post. — Success attend their efforts.

I understand that Gen. Cook,⁵⁵ now commanding this division, says that a heavy expedition will be made against the Indians in the Spring, and that Companies A, B and C shall be mounted or sent to the field South, which you may rest assured meets with the full approbation of our boys — but pray it may be the latter. But anything rather than this monotonous inactivity of fort life. . . .

Yours, W. W.

[Letter from "Co. B, 41st Iowa," in *Iowa City Press*, March 7, 1863.]

Ft. La Framboise, D. T.,
Feb. 12th, 1863.

Editor Press: Thinking perhaps that a few lines from Co. B, of the Iowa 41st, in this far off land, might be of interest to the people of Iowa City, I have concluded to send you an item or two.

All has been quiet since our arrival here, until of late when we received the sad news of the murder of our men at Fort Berthold, and the capture and burning of that place, belonging to the American Fur Company.⁵⁶

Several days ago we received information of there being several more white prisoners in the hands of White Lodge and Little Crow, upon the

⁵⁴ For Pattee's account of this, see Pattee, "Dakota Campaigns," 290-91. Unfortunately, the captured Indians escaped by cutting their way out of their prison.

⁵⁵ A new military district had been formed by Pope, to be called the First Military District, Department of the Northwest, and Brig. Gen. John Cook placed in charge, with headquarters at Sioux City. *Ibid.*, 289.

⁵⁶ Fort Berthold, a fur trading post of the American Fur Company, was attacked and destroyed by a Sioux war party on Dec. 24, 1862. It was located on the north bank of the Missouri River, in what is now McLean County, North Dakota. *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 1:359-61.

Painted Wood, 480 miles by river above here. Some friendly Indians were at once despatched by M. La Framboise and the officers of Co. B, to try and rescue them by purchase, if such a thing was possible. Three Indians left on this mission, headed by White Crane, a noble friendly Indian living here, and after an absence of 29 days, they returned yesterday, with one little girl whom they had succeeded in getting. The circumstances I will narrate, as I received them from the Indians themselves, through M. La Framboise as interpreter.

They met with no obstacles until they arrived at Big Head's camp of Yanktonas, which is one days march from the Sauntée camp of White Lodge and Little Crow. — There the Yanktons told them that it would be useless to attempt to get the prisoners, but said they would aid them, as they were there with the Sauntées. Accordingly, Crazy Dog, a Yanktona, went and succeeded in buying the little girl for a pony, and gave her over to White Crane and his faithful comrades.

They report four others there with the Sauntées, but Little Crow refused to give them up under any consideration whatever, and boasted that he was going to fight the whites with their scalps in his belt next spring.

The Indians also say that the Sauntées were then making moccasins to come down on a war party against the whites, and openly avowed their intention of attacking and burning both this post and Ft. Pierre, three miles below. White Crane says the Sauntées are much divided, some declaring they will never fight the pale-faces and that they were forced into the Minnesota foray and would never do the like again, while others say they will fight again in the spring and all die together, if overpowered by the whites.

The Yanktonas assured White Crane that they would do all in their power to rescue the remaining four prisoners, and if they get them, would bring them down here and deliver them up. White Crane's horses gave out when at the Shyan [Cheyenne] and a generous hearted Blackfoot Indian gave the party his horses and came down with them on their return to take the animals back again.

The little girl, whom they brought, is ten years of age, very intelligent, and speaks the Sioux language fluently. Her name is Lavinia M. Ingalls and her people lived one mile from Yellow Medicine in Minnesota. Her mother died about two years ago; her father was killed before her eyes, after his gun was taken from him by the Indians; her brother, twelve years

of age and two sisters were taken prisoners with her. The Indians being in a state almost of starvation before reaching the Missouri river, these two sisters were turned loose to find their way back or perish on the prairie. Her brother was obliged to drive teams, which had been taken from the murdered settlers and she had to walk the entire distance to the Missouri.

She was twice nearly whipped to death, because unable to perform the unreasonable tasks required of her by her inhuman captors, and she now carries marks of the wounds and bruises thus received.

Her brother was sold for a pony to the Cut-heads, and she has not seen him since. She often speaks of him and wishes he was safe with her. The Indians were nearly exhausted, when they returned from their long journey in the dead of a Dakota winter and too much praise cannot be given them for the faithful performance of their hazardous task.

They say the half-breeds of the North are supplying the Sauntees with powder and caps. These half-breeds are from British America and say they will join the Sauntees against the whites in their next expedition. That such may be the underhanded, damnable scheme of the British Government, thus encouraging these Indians, I have good reason to believe.

If our Government fails to punish these murderers, it ought to sink into perdition. I cannot believe that the authorities at Washington will overlook the interests of our North-western citizens in this, their hour of danger. I cannot believe that our well-paid government officials have forgotten the loyal people of Minnesota, the valor of whose sons has been exhibited, the bones of whose sons are bleaching, upon many a Southern battle-field; and I earnestly hope that the situation of the defenceless people of that noble State will receive prompt, thorough and immediate attention.

Yours truly, Co. B, 41st Iowa

[Wieneke Diary]

W Feb 11th 1863 Indians who went up the river to the sauntee camp to buy the White prisoners ret'd this Eve with poor success bringing but one white person with them. a small girl of Ten years old named Levinia M Engles we went over to Lafrombois house this Eve and gave them some music. . . .

Sat Feb 14th 1863 . . . Indians came in yester Eve with reports that there was a large herd of Buffalo cows on the Opposite Side of the river

they are all eager to go out this Morn after them One of Lafrombois wives left him today with Baggage and all

[Wieneke letter to wife]

Ft Lafromboise D. T.
Monday Feb 16th

. . . The Indians here have a curious way of mourning their Relations for instance last Summer one of the Squaws down at Ft. Randall had a Grand child die for her she went up on one of the highest Bluffs just below the fort and Buried it and each day for more than one week she was up there from sun rise to sun set moaning and howling all the time, so that we could hear them for Two miles away no one dare come near her Two of the soldiers went up to see what was the matter and she brandished her knife at them so that they did not dare go near all of the time that she was mourning she had Two Poles up and on each of these she had a red cloth or rag fastened like a flag on the Eve of the last day that she was up there an indian rode up and took the poles down and then the mourning was over another squaw lost a child she took a knife and gashed her legs from the ankles to the knees not leaving an inch [of] space of her legs without a gash, others gash their bodies all over. about one week since news came down here that the assin-ne-bo-ins had fought a party of Yanktons and killed Eleven of them One of the squaws here had a Brother and Nephew amongst the slain instantly on hearing of their Death she began to howl and taking her knife she gashed her Breast all over and in spite of the cold night she was the whole night howling so that we could hardly sleep for the noise she still keeps it up and we can hear her cries the entire day as she wanders about on the river Bank. . . .

Tuesday Feb 17th 1863

. . . There were about Twenty Lodges of the O-hen-no-pas or Two kettle Band came down from a hunting Excursion to day they were most all well provided with dried meat and Buffalo Robes. all looking fat and well. they report the Santees as being very poor and almost Starved and sickly I wish they would all die it would save us the trouble of killing them next Summer. . . .

[Wieneke Diary]

Wednesday Feb 18 . . . strolled out for a walk this A. M. before sun

rise. . . . ascending to a knoll about one half mile from the Fort, early as it was all seemed to be astir. all around me seemed to be walled in by High Bluffs covered with snow on the Two highest Bluffs south of me were Two Indian sentinals watching their horses (that were grazing on the sides of the hills) and singing their song. on the opposite side of the river were Two Indians after a large Grey Wolf. on my left across the river were some tepees out of which the squaws were just crawling also singing their Eternal Ho, ho, hos on my right at a distance of about Two and one half miles lay Ft Pierre Enveloped in smoke. this scene seemed to me as though spring were really at our door. . . .

Sunday Feb 22nd 1863 . . . great Excitement this P. M. I Walker⁵⁷ who was decoyed into the guard Bastion down at Ft Pierre for swearing returned this Morn having made his way out of the place by Jumping off of the top of the Bastion this P M Sargt Wakelee⁵⁸ & Two guards came up after him and the Boys here said he should not go down unless all the Boys that had tallies against them went with him to this they would not accede at last Five besides Walker started down under escort of Two guards — at Sevon Oclock this Eve the five came back what is the reason I do not know. . . .

[Letter from "W. W." in *Iowa City Republican*, Mar. 18, 1863.]

February 23, 1863

Editors Republican: . . . Major Pattee has placed in my hand the official report of Capt. B. Mahana (commanding at Ft. Pierre), in regard to some white prisoners still in the hands of the Ishantee [Santee] Indians, and the ransom of a little girl; and, as I have with the kindness of Major Pattee the privilege of making use of the report for the benefit of the Republican, and it containing much that I think would be of high interest to your readers, I give the report without change:

On the 12th day of January, 1863, White Hawk, and Two Lance of the Two Kettle Band, and White Crane and Fool Dog, of the Yanktonais, set out for the Sauntee Camp to purchase the white prisoners in possession of Little Crow and his band. After fourteen days' travel, without meeting with any Indians, they ar-

⁵⁷ Isaac Walker of Iowa City, private of Co. B. *Roster and Record*, 5:1189.

⁵⁸ Charles L. Wakelee of Washington, Iowa, Fourth Sergeant of Co. B. *Ibid.*, 5:1188.

rived at Painted Wood, 350 miles above Fort Pierre, on the Missouri River. Here they found Little Crow, three hundred Sauntée Lodges, and about one thousand warriors. There was also encamped here one lodge of the Yanktonais. White Crane, the spokesman for the party, says: "We spent seven days in the Sauntée Camp. — When we arrived there, we gave a feast to the head men, and succeeded in purchasing one prisoner, a girl of eleven years of age. While negotiating for the other prisoners, four in number, three boys and one young lady, with good prospect of success, a half breed named Hancot, arrived from Devil's Lake, and made the Sauntées presents of tobacco, and *strongly* opposed the selling of the prisoners. He informed the Sauntées that if they would fight the white people at the north, he would furnish them with powder and balls, and give them all the assistance they could. Two of the leading men of the Yanktonais, Strike-the-ree⁵⁹ and Wa-noe-san-ta, did all in their power to prevent the Sauntées from giving up the prisoners. Little Crow finally informed White Crane that he would keep the prisoners and tie them to his belt next summer when he went to fight the whites."

While in the Sauntée Camp, White Crane was informed that last October, the Big Head Band, the Cut Head Band, and a few of the Yanktonais made an attack on Fort Berthold, one of the posts of the American Fur Company, and killed four white men.

At Devil's Lake, eighty miles from Fort Abercrombie, are three hundred Lodges of Sauntées. White Crane says the snow is deep, but the buffaloes are plenty; that the Indians are losing all their horses, and will have none left by spring, and he also says that they have an epidemic among them that is killing them very fast. White Lodge, a Sauntée Chief, informed White Hawk that they were coming down to burn Fort Pierre and Fort La Fromboise soon. The party returned to Fort La Fromboise on the 11th of this month (Feb.) making the distance from the Sauntée Camp in ten days.

They brought with them the girl they had purchased; and, upon being questioned, she gave the following account: "My name is Lovina M. Engals; I am about six years old (she is probably ten

⁵⁹ Strikes-the-ree or Struck-by-the-ree (Indian name, Palaneapape), chief of the Yankton Sioux and a firm friend of the white man. See *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 1:114-15; Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians*, 2:644-5. In view of this, the statement here that he "did all in his power" to prevent the Sauntées from giving up their prisoners is not creditable. This report also confuses the Yankton and Yanktonai; they were separate, but closely related, tribes of the Sioux. Strike-the-ree was a Yankton, not a Yanktonai. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians*, 2:990, 998.

or eleven), my father lived one mile south of the Yellow Medicine, in Minnesota, and I think his name was Hubbard Engals; I think it was some time in August that we were taken. — Father had his gun taken from him, and was killed at his house. My mother has been dead about two years. I have a brother ten years old still with the Indians.”

Hill Crane, one of the Yanktonais, has just arrived (Feb. 12th) and reports the Black Feet and Unk-pa-pas at White Butte, one hundred miles north of Fort Berthold.

Very Respectfully yours,

B. MAHANA

Capt., Command Post Ft. Pierre, D. T.
to Major John Pattee

. . . Yours in haste, W. W.

[Wieneke Diary]

Thursday Mar 12 . . . Train started on the return to Ft Randall taking Levinia and Frank Owens with them. . . .

Sat March 14th . . . Lafrombois squaw left him. . . .

Tuesday 17th/63 . . . lots of Indians came down the other side of the river today but could not cross. . . .

Monday 23rd . . . Some Indians crossed the river this morn to hunt Buffalo had a hard time to get back this Eve as the wind had risen high from North.

Tuesday March 24th morn cold and stormy about 60 lodges of Indians came down the river this morn camped at Ft Pierre

[Letter from “Co. B, 41st Iowa” in *Iowa City Press*, Apr. 18, 1863.]

Fort La Framboise, D. T.

March 25th, 1863

Editor Press: . . . It is exceedingly aggravating to the men of the 41st to read in the many papers of the day, accounts of the daring deeds of the heroic sons of Iowa, without once seeing mentioned our own noble little band of the 41st, now on the distant frontier.

I have every reason to believe that the Iowa troops South have done well their part, and richly deserve all the praise that has been lavished upon

them. In fact nothing but noble and daring deeds of valor need be expected of the energetic sons of the Hawkeye State. Iowa troops have always been found ready to go where duty called them and the 41st need not be an exception by any means. We were ordered to the frontier, much against our will, however, and faithfully performed garrison duty at Fort Randall, both through quietude and through the bloody and exciting scenes of an Indian war. I venture the assertion that had it not been for the 41st and that noble band of frontiersmen, the Dacotah cavalry, the settlements of the Missouri valley and Sioux City would have been a smouldering heap of ruins, as is Sioux Falls,⁶⁰ instead of thriving villages and comfortable homes for the frontier husbandman, as they are to-day.

In November an expedition was fitted out at Fort Randall and came to Fort Pierre, under command of Major Pattee, and the Major seeing the urgent necessity of troops in this quarter, left Co. B to garrison Fort Pierre and this post, the former in command of Capt. Mahanna, this one in command of Lieut. Luse; Lieut. Schell acting A. A. Q. M. at Fort Pierre.

When we arrived here on the 8th of December, White Lodge⁶¹ and his blood-letting band were about 80 miles above here, quietly waiting for the river to close, when he would pounce upon the few traders here and take from them their goods and make them victims of the scalping knife. Thus our friends will see Co. B, of the 41st, acted well its part once. It is nearly 200 miles in the heart of the Indian country, cut off from all support, and left entirely upon its own resources. Cos. A and C are still at Fort Randall, doing garrison duty, and by their presence, keeping quiet the lower settlements of Dacotah. Co. B is longing for the time to come when the 41st shall be united again and be once more the 41st.

We are anxiously looking for a boat from St. Louis, that we may once more see some one from *back on earth*, and see how they look. We have not seen a white man for some time and their general appearance has passed from our memory. . . .

Co. B, as well as all the troops of Dacotah, are looking anxiously forward

⁶⁰ In August, 1862, during the Sioux outbreak in Minnesota, a small band of Indians murdered a man and his son near Sioux Falls, So. Dak. The settlers, frightened, fled to safety at Yankton, and the Indians later destroyed the small town of Sioux Falls. *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 1:50, 52.

⁶¹ White Lodge, a subchief of the Sisseton Sioux, led the band which captured Mrs. Wright and Mrs. Duly and their children. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians*, 2:945.

for the arrival of the coming expedition against the Indians. We learn the 6th Iowa Cavalry has been ordered for this service.⁶² It pleases us much to know that we are to be associated with Iowa troops against the hostile aborigines of the northwest the coming summer. The traders are jubilant over the prospect of troops arriving to their aid, in this their hour of danger and peril. . . .

Our regiment, it is reported, will be mounted as cavalry, but this is rather uncertain. Gen. Cook and Major Pattee have done their utmost in order to accomplish this, but at last accounts were unsuccessful. I hope they may yet bring it about.

As far as Indian affairs are concerned, all is quiet and I think will continue so. I think the Indians will not make any hostile demonstration until forced to act on the defensive.

Yours truly,

Co. B, 41st Iowa

[Letter from "W. W." in *Iowa City Republican*, Apr. 15, 1863.]

Fort Randall, March 30 [1863]

Editors Republican: The Expedition under charge of Q. M. Sergt. C. B. Stilson⁶³ to Fort Pierre, has returned, after a pleasant and successful trip, bringing along the little girl Lovina M. Engals, spoken of in Capt. B. Mahanna's report, given in my letter of February 23d. She looks hearty and expresses herself much pleased with her new friends. Major Pattee and Lady have taken her into their charge, and under their hospitable care, nothing that may add to her comfort and benefit shall be wanted.

She speaks the Indian language with readiness, and the English with fluency and ease; and expresses in her conversation much perception and intelligence.

Mrs. Mary J. Snook went with the Expedition to Ft. Pierre, to join her husband (Corporal E. H. Snook⁶⁴) now stationed there. She stood the trip well, but became a source of the highest curiosity to the natives, as she is the first white woman that has ever visited that portion of this wild coun-

⁶² The 6th Iowa Cavalry, mustered at Davenport in the early months of 1863, left Davenport Mar. 16, 1863, to march to Sioux City, to join in the planned summer expedition against the Sioux. *Roster and Record*, 4:1117.

⁶³ Chester B. Stilson of Cedar Falls, originally Fourth Corporal of Co. A; on Nov. 23, 1862, promoted to Quartermaster Sergeant. *Ibid.*, 5:1185.

⁶⁴ Eden H. Snook of Iowa City, private in Co. B. *Ibid.*, 5:1185.

try. She states "that the Red people crowded her windows for days, to have a sight at the *white woman*." . . .

Yours, W. W.

[Wieneke Diary]

Wednesday Apr 8th . . . Three boys went down to Ft Pierre in the boat and in coming back up the boat filled and they had to swim for shore. Indian runner came up this Eve reported a lot of warriors up the river a few miles skulking around. all was excitement the whole Eve the Indians bringing up their Ponies and picketing them. . . .

Sat Apr 11 . . . mackinaw⁶⁵ came in from above gold on board they report the Indians on the upper Missouri all hostile another Mackinaw came down this P. M. . . .

Apr. 16th 63 . . . had a great Indian dance here this Eve the best dance I have seen up here yet. . . .

Tuesday 28 1863 . . . men buisy cleaning the Cannon & preparing for an Indian fight. . . .

Thursday Apr 30th 63. . . about Thirty Lodges of Indians left here this Morn to get out of the way of the "sansarcs"⁶⁶ Indians who are rumored to be coming down to attack the Fort

[Letter from "Union," of 6th Iowa Cavalry, in *Iowa City Republican*, May 20, 1863.]

Headquarters 6th Iowa Cavalry,⁶⁷

Camp Cook, Dakota Ter., near Sioux City

April 28th, 1863

Friend Jerome:⁶⁸ Thinking the many friends I left behind me in Iowa City would be glad to know what we are doing, I know of no better means of communicating with them than through the *Republican*. Well, our march

⁶⁵ A mackinaw was a flat-bottomed boat with pointed prow and square stern, much used in the fur trade.

⁶⁶ The Sans Arcs (Indian name Itazipcho, meaning "without bows") were a band of the Teton Sioux. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians*, 2:453.

⁶⁷ See note 62. For diaries of the 6th Cavalry, see J. H. Drips, *Three Years Among the Indians in Dakota* (Kimball, So. Dak., 1894), and Frank Myers, *Soldiering in Dakota Among the Indians in 1863-4-5* (Huron, Dakota, 1888). Drips of McGregor was a Sergeant in Co. L of the 6th Cavalry; Myers of Albion was a private in Co. B. *Roster and Record*, 4:1158, 1199.

⁶⁸ G. H. Jerome, editor of the *Iowa City Republican*.

through Iowa has been one of unprecedented good fortune. Pleasant weather all the way. Not a shower to moisten our coats, albeit we had rain enough between Davenport and Iowa City. The good people on the route welcomed us with open arms, and the ladies, God bless them, were ever present at all of our camps, to make the evening of a toilsome day's march pleasant to our weary boys. In fact, I may say, our march has been one continued ovation, such as those who have seen many battles might be proud of; and I trust we may prove ourselves worthy of all the attention shown us. We have averaged, since we left Iowa City, twenty and a half miles each marching day, and this we are told is good time for cavalry. The scenery through the western part of the State is very monotonous, rolling prairie. But, as we near the Missouri river, it becomes bluffy, and very much broken. I was disappointed in Council Bluffs; but suppose it was because I had formed too high an opinion of the place in advance. The country, up the Missouri is very picturesque, the road at times running through deep cuts in the bluffs, and then of a sudden opening out upon a beautiful valley, with a little village in its midst; and the sight of our regiment, winding its way over hill and vale, with our long train, covering in all a space of nearly two miles, was indeed grand. Our first camp from Council Bluffs was twenty miles distant, on the bottom, in a beautiful wood, just under the bluff, which arose almost perpendicular to a height of, I should judge, six hundred feet. After dinner which we take at a very fashionable hour, generally between four and six o'clock, a party of us ascended to the top of the bluff, and with the aid of our glasses, could plainly see the cities of Florence and Omaha, distant, one fifteen and the other twenty miles. At night, the boys set the grass on fire, and it was one of the grandest sights I ever witnessed, to see the fire immediately overhead, six hundred feet high, and extending for miles up and down the river. Everything in camp was as plain as though it had been noonday. We reached our present camp about noon on Saturday, some five days in advance of time, and before any of the other troops intended for our expedition had arrived, and are now encamped on Gen. Harney's old camp ground. One of the boys picked up on the ground a silver plate, which, I suppose, had been on a valise or carpet bag, engraved "R. A. Grant, U.S.A.," once the property of the late rebel General of that name. The settlers here are mostly a mixture of French and Indian, half-breeds, and are the lowest and most debased of the class. Whisky, and a very poor article at that, is the chief

diet. You can find it in all the houses, and we have great trouble keeping it out of camp.

We expect to take up our line of march for Devil's Lake not later than the 15th of May.⁶⁹ Our march overland will be about six hundred miles. Two or three transports, with stores, will accompany us to Painted Woods, but we shall see little of them, as the river is very crooked, and, by water, the distance two thousand, five hundred miles. Our expedition from this point will consist of 2,800 or 3,000 men, and at Devil's Lake we will be joined by Col. Sibley with 6000 more, which will make a very respectable sized army.⁷⁰ . . .

Yours truly, UNION

[Wieneke Diary]

Friday May 1st 1863 . . . our detachment gave the Head chiefs and The fool Band a feast this P. M. there were sixteen present they Eat a good hearty dinner then "Drag the Rock" one of the fool Band rose and made a short speech followed by Bone Necklace⁷¹ another of the Band. they were both short but good the substance was thanking us for what we have given them and promising us that in case we were attacked they would help us. this is sincer[e] and I know comes from their Hearts. I would trust each and every one of this Band with my life. . . .

⁶⁹ Gen. Pope had received word that the Sioux were encamped on Devil's Lake (a 30-mile long saline lake in northeast central North Dakota) and at the upper waters of the James River. His plans for the summer campaign included sending the troops under Gen. Sibley in Minnesota west toward Devil's Lake, while Gen. Alfred Sully (who had replaced Gen. Cook) would march up the Missouri to meet Sibley, thus cutting off a retreat by the Sioux toward the Missouri River. *War of the Rebellion* . . . *Official Records* . . . (128 vols., Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. XXII, Part II, 304-395. (Hereafter cited as *Official Records*; all references are to volumes in Series I.)

⁷⁰ This is somewhat of an exaggeration. Sibley had some 2,000 infantry and 800 cavalry, including several Minnesota infantry regiments, the 1st Minn. Mounted Rangers, and the 3d Minn. Battery. By the time of the campaign, Sully would have the 41st Iowa; a detachment of the 30th Wisconsin; two companies of Dakota Cavalry, the 6th Iowa Cavalry, one company of the 7th Iowa Cavalry, and eight companies of the 2d Nebraska Cavalry, listed in June, 1863, as totalling 2,278 men. *Ibid.*, 304, 349, 350.

⁷¹ Bone Necklace, a "Lower Yanktonais," lived on Swan Lake Creek. The Fool Band and Mrs. Wright and Mrs. Duly and their children had been aided by Bone Necklace. Robinson, "History of the Sioux Indians," 306, 312.

[Letter from "Co. B, 41st Iowa" in *Iowa City Press*, May 30, 1863.]

Ft. La Ramboise, Dakota Territory,
Sunday, May 3d, 1863.

Mr. Editor: Your humble correspondent of Co. B begs leave once more to impose upon your readers another letter from Dakota, which I trust may prove of interest, as many of their friends are here with me, serving their country in a lonely frontier service. Co. B is still on the Upper Missouri and I may say of them, as was said of Wellington at Waterloo, they are weary of a garrison life and anxious for the day of deliverance, which at present looks afar off.

We are, however, enjoying ourselves with our red faced friends, yes *friends*, as well as we can, and will await with patience the time when it shall be necessary to serve our country in more active duties.

Day before yesterday this detachment had the honor to invite sixteen of our Indian friends to dine, in our quarters, and at our own table; and never were a party of *friends* more welcome. They enjoyed the repast greatly, but they were no more glad to be the recipients of it than we were to bestow it. Yes, we have found in the camps of the uncivilized "Yanktonians," who have been brought up to barbarous deeds and taught hatred to the whites, firm and abiding friends, and men of feeling and principle, who scorn a mean act.

After their repast was over, and they had been waited upon by the soldiers with as much deference as an Astor House ebony, we were favored with a speech from *Drag-the-Rock* which was full of kindness and meaning, and exactly to the point. He assured us of his friendship, told us of the past and what his course should be in the future. He then took his seat, and *Bane-a-nec-lace* gave us a short, but neat little speech, and, with feeling, referred to the death of their beloved chief, *Bears-rib*,⁷² who was murdered at Fort Pierre last spring, while defending the whites, and spoke in tones of thunder of the two cowardly Suns Arks [*sic*] who slew him, and also spoke with satisfaction, saying three of their lives paid the penalty of their rashness. He assured us that the friends of *Bears-rib* had not forgotten the cause for which their chief was slain; that they should always follow his example and die beloved, as was their beloved *Bears-rib*. — *Bears-*

⁷² Bear's Rib, a Sioux chief and a friend of the whites, was killed near Fort Pierre in June, 1862, by some of the Sans Arc band. See *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 1:296, 366-8.

rib now lies buried on a gentle slope back of Ft. Pierre. A neat little picket fence encloses his grave, and over it floats the stars and stripes, planted there by the whites; there let the noble brave lay in peace and quiet until the trumpet shall awaken all mankind to judgment, when he shall reap a martyr's reward. His two sons are here and are universally beloved. They are bound to avenge their father's death — even if their own life is sacrificed.

The Suns Arks are expected in soon to trade, and one of the brothers remarked a short time since, "*when they come, I am going to die,*" and rest assured the programme will be carried out and the treacherous enemy will bite the dust. So mote it be.

I will here give you a short history of a band of Indians called by other bands the Eleven Fools, or the Fool Band. Their origin is this: Two Indians were warm friends and also friends of the whites. They made this resolution: that they should always stand by the whites, and whenever they saw any white man in danger from other bands, they should defend him, and if overpowered, die with him; if either of them were placed in danger, one should stand by the other until rescue, or die together. Such is the creed of the *Fool Band*. Their number has increased to eleven.⁷³ They are all young men and noble, trusty fellows. It was this young Fool Band that rescued the thirteen whites last November, and brought them safe here and surrendered them to the kindness of Mr. La Framboise, the gentlemanly proprietor of this post. They marched over five hundred miles in this trip, and experienced much bad weather, but their courage never failed, although they passed thro' the Unk-pa-pas country — their deadly enemies — and at last entered the camp of the Santees, where they were liable to be sacrificed at any moment. Such, my friends, is the spirit of these friends of our, the Fool Band. Added to this number at our feast was White Crane, Drag the Rock and White Hawk or Two Lance, who made the trip to the Painted Wood in the dead of last winter and rescued the little girl Lavina Engals. Crazy Day, or Fool Day, as he is sometimes called, was also present. This was the noble brave that obtained the release of this little girl. He and a portion of his band was encamped on the Painted Wood near the camp of

⁷³ According to Robinson, the eleven members of the Fool Band were Martin Charger, Kills and Comes, Swift Bird, Four Bears, Mad Bear, Pretty Bear, Sitting Bear, One Rib, Strikes Fire, Red Dog, and Charging Dog. Robinson, "History of the Sioux Indians," 313n.

Little Crow. The three Indians from there remained there *seven days* without effecting a rescue by purchase of one of the prisoners. They were disheartened and discouraged and resolved to return next morning, but Crazy Day pleaded with them to remain a few hours and he would make one more attempt. He accordingly took his best horse and went and soon returned with the little girl and she was brought here by these faithful red men. — This was another of our honorable guests, at our table. Young Bears-rib was also present.

This feast was given by the members of this detachment who bought the material of the Fur Company from our own pockets and never did we more freely contribute than for this. Their friendship has amply repaid us for our pains, I assure you.

The Suns Arks, Black Feet and Unk-pa-pas are all expected in in about ten days to trade when trouble is expected between them and the Yanktonians, when I hope Co B will be found on the *right side*. The Fool Band will, while these Indians remain, be with us in the fort and will render valuable service if hostilities commence. — These coming Indians destroyed a great number of packs of robes last spring for the American Fur company and took possession of the store and helped themselves. If they attempt anything of the kind this spring they will get stopped in their wild career, and taught that the whites are their superiors in the art of war. There may be no trouble however as they know what will follow any act of hostility on their part. For that reason I flatter myself that they will keep quiet this spring.

Several Indians arrived here from Fort Randall last night and report the Sixth Cavalry at the Yankton agency and expected at Randall the next day.⁷⁴ We shall be happy to meet our friends of the Sixth upon the banks of the old Missouri. We have had no boat yet but are looking anxiously for one. The river is very low, and no doubt makes navigation difficult.

The health of the company is generally good. There is now two cases of scurvy, which I believe is all the sickness there is in the company. Our physician, Dr. Fondureux, has recommended vegetable diet as a remedy and I think with his skillful treatment they will soon recover. . . .

Yours for the Union, Co. B, 41st Iowa

⁷⁴ At this time the 6th Cavalry were camped between the Big Sioux and the Missouri, near Yankton. There they stayed until May 18, when they began the march to Fort Pierre, which they reached on June 4. Drips, *Three Years Among the Indians*, 19-25.

[Wieneke letter to wife.]

Wednesday May 6th 1863

. . . I have nothing to write to you about. it is the same thing over and over every day. nothing new we are always waiting for the Boat and the mail but neither of them come. oh how I long for a change to a place where I can at least hear from my Beloved family once every two weeks. oh how dull it is here nothing to do. I am tired of running about the fort and dare not go more than one mile away from here as it is against the orders of our Officers. I have read every paper that I could lay my hands on even the advertisements, and what to go at next I do not know there was a herd of Buffalo passed upon the opposite side of the river this Morn in plain sight of the Fort. . . .

[Wieneke Diary]

Friday May 8th 1863 . . . the Indians are all leaving for the prarie on a hunt. . . . only Sevon Lodges are remaining here this Eve. . . . a party of the Two kettle Band numbering about Seventeen all mounted came to the Fort about Six oclock they dismounted and Entered the room of the Clerk and commenced by asking for Tobacco and then because they did not receive it they commenced abusing and telling the Frienchman that all white men had best leave here and other words to the same effect. White Crane hearing them walked into the room and told them to be quiet that they dare not talk so if the other Friendly Indians had not all gone away that they had to go out hunting to keep from starving he for his part would stay and live or die for his White friends this speech quickly dried the cowards up and they went away let them dare come here again and they will get a stormy wellcome from the small squad up here. . . .

May 11th, 1863 . . . preparing the fort for the Indians cutting a small door in the gate so that but one Indian can come through at one time also getting up poles to chink the pickets on the out side. . . .

[Letter from "W. W." in *Iowa City Republican*, May 27, 1863.]

Fort Randall, May 11 [1863]

Dear Republican: . . . We have received the information that we are no more part of the 41st Iowa, but changed into, or rather consolidated with

the 7th Iowa Cavalry. Col. Summers, Lieut. Colonel Pattee of this Battalion, are the officers as far as I have yet learned.⁷⁵ . . .

Last mail brought us the sad intelligence of one man killed and one wounded by some Indians attempting to steal their horses, between Yankton and Sioux City, about 80 miles from this Post. This is causing much excitement, and the settlers are leaving in wild confusion.

A detachment of Company A, Dakota Cavalry, under charge of Lieut. Fowler, are leaving this Post this morning, in pursuit of the Indian assassins. Lieut. Col. Pattee left a day or two ago for Sioux City, on business pertaining to our future movements, &c.

The expedition against the Indians, under command of Brig. Gen. Cook,⁷⁶ is expected to move between the 15th and 20th inst. . . .

About two hundred Lodges of friendly Indians, of the various tribes on the Missouri, are expected in a few days, having been sent for by Major Burleigh, their Agent; they expect to hold a grand council. . . .

Yours, W. W.

[Wieneke Diary]

Thursday 14th . . . dance at Ft Pierre this Eve Four of our Boys went down Lafromboise wife left him again this day tore up everything in the house before she went. . . .

Sunday May 17th 63 . . . news came in from Ft Randall by Geo Pleats that we are to go back to Fort R soon to get Horses and Cavalry arms This I hope will put us in the way of doing our Country some service. . . .

⁷⁵ The three companies of the 41st were transferred to the 7th Iowa Cavalry, as companies K, L, and M, on April 25, 1863. The Sioux City Cavalry Company (see note 46) which had been serving with the troops in Dakota was also added to the 7th Cavalry as Co. I, under its captain, Andrew J. Millard of Sioux City. This regiment never served as a unit, but was scattered among the frontier posts of Dakota and Nebraska. These four companies were the only ones of the 7th Iowa Cavalry to serve in Dakota. The Colonel was Samuel W. Summers of Ottumwa; John Pattee became Lieut. Col. May 15, 1863. *Roster and Record*, 4:1253, 1261, 1342.

⁷⁶ Cook was replaced in May, 1863, by Brig. Gen. Alfred Sully, a West Point graduate, who had served in the Mexican War and on the Indian frontier under Harney, and in the Army of the Potomac under McClellan. He had been brevetted Lieut. Col. for gallantry at the battle of Fair Oaks, and Col. for conspicuous bravery at Malvern Hill. In September he had been promoted to Brig. Gen. of volunteers and had led his brigade in the battle of Chancellorsville. His experience in Indian fighting made him a good choice for the Dakota campaign. *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 1:120-21.

[Letter from "W. W." in *Iowa City Republican*, June 17, 1863.]

Fort Randall, May 24 [1863]

Eds. Republican: The last two days (Friday and Saturday, 22d and 23d ult.) were stirring days for Fort Randall. Steamer "Shreveport" on her way for the Idaho and Dakota Gold Mines, stopped an hour or two at the landing, taking on some freight for Ft. Pierre. Also, Steamer "Isabella," and unloaded her freight, which is for the New Sioux Agency, or the Indian expedition under command of Gen. Cook. — She had unloaded a large part of the freight near Vermillion, on account of the low stage of water, which she returned for in the afternoon. So we expect to hear at our landing, her stirring whistle again, on her way for the New Sioux Agency, which is to be established West of the Yankton Sioux Reservation, on the Missouri River.

The Shreveport was heavily freighted with provisions and mining implements, and had on board eighty-five passengers bound for the new El Dorado.

The steamers had encountered considerable difficulty in coming up the river, partly owing to high winds, but mostly from the lowness of the river.

The second Battalion, Major Ten Broeck,⁷⁷ of the 6th Iowa Cavalry, arrived on the opposite bank of the river, on the 22d ult., on their way for Ft. Pierre. The Battalion seems in excellent health, and high spirits. Their horses look finely. They commenced crossing the river on yesterday; but in the afternoon met with a sad accident. In crossing a number of horses, and after getting a few rods from shore, some of the horses became frightened — three falling off the boat, and knocking Mr. John Frazer,⁷⁸ of Company "H," Captain Marsh into the river. All efforts towards his rescue proved fruitless, as he had his arms on, and was knocked under the surface by one of the horses. There has been great effort employed to secure his remains, but thus far to no purpose. No doubt ere this his body lies deeply buried in the sand of the ever fluctuating channel of the Muddy Missouri, and we cannot help but feel more than sad, with his comrades in arms, and friends, at the sad calamity and his untimely death.

The battalion will halt a day or two, after which they will continue their march for Ft. Pierre, Col. Pattee being in command of the expedition. Col.

⁷⁷ Edward P. Ten Broeck of Clinton, Major of 6th Iowa Cavalry. *Roster and Record*, 4:1127.

⁷⁸ John Frazer of Elkader, private in Co. H, 6th Iowa Cavalry. *Ibid.*, 1165.

Clark W. Thompson,⁷⁹ Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Minnesota, has been stopping a few days, awaiting the steamer *Isabella* en route up the river to select future homes for the Winnebago and Sioux Indians of Minnesota; who are about being removed from that State, in pursuance of an act of last Congress. The lands for this purpose will be selected upon this river, West of the Yankton Sioux Reservation. . . .

Yours in haste, W. W.

[Wieneke letter to wife.]

Ft LaFromboise D. T.

Friday May 22nd 1863

Ever Beloved Wife . . . The last Two days have been very buisy and tiresome ones to us owing to a large band of Indians being here from the upper Country and doing their annual trading and we had to stay inside of the Fort all of the day, dare not even stick our heads outside. These Indians are some of the same that were so unruly here one year ago and killed "Bear Rib," one of the Friendly Chiefs, in sight of Fort Pierre in open day light. but the sight of Soldiers kept them quiet and they did their trading all up yesterday and the day before and this morn they are almost all gone there were about Five Hundred of them here. this Company traded for over Two Thousand robes and the American Fur Co at Ft Pierre traded for about the same amount. We are expecting another lot in today or tomorrow of the "minne-ka-za" Tribe this tribe that was in were "I-ta-zip-chois" the "Unk-papas" are also expected in.⁸⁰ we are prepared to receive them each man has his gun loaded and has Forty rounds of Catridges [*sic*] besides and over half of the men in this Fort have Revolvers. I have one that I can pick off Five of the red devils with at any distance less than one hundred yards, but I do not apprehend any dangers as the red skins fear the soldiers very much. The weather the last three days has been very windy Yesterday the dust blew so strong that it almost put our Eyes out.

⁷⁹ By act of Congress in Feb., 1863, the Winnebagoes and some of the Santee Sioux were moved from Minnesota to a reservation to be chosen by the Indian agent, Clark W. Thompson. He chose a point on the Missouri River and established an agency post, known as Fort Thompson, at the mouth of Crow Creek. About 3,500 Indians were settled there. *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 1:124.

⁸⁰ The Itazipcho (Sans Arc) or the Minishala and the Hunkpapa were bands of the Teton Sioux. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians*, 1:579, 625; 2:579.

Friday May 29th 1863

The great annual "Wakantonka" dance or God dance commenced here this day some call it the Sun dance⁸¹ but it is to an unseen spirit in whom they believe and whom they are praying to aid them in conquering their Enemies and keep them from getting killed this morn they commenced by all of the young warriors mounting their horses in their fanciest rig and riding at a break neck speed over the hills and through the camp then the squaws danced part of the afternoon and towards Eve they built a large Lodge about 40 feet in diameter and all Evening they have been going on with the secret part of their worship and will keep it up all night.

Sat May 30th 1863 they are buisy drumming yet this morn.

Ten oclock A M well I have seen one of the red skins made brave almost all of the Boys here went down to the Camp and they had just commenced cutting the skin of one of the warriors to put the wooden pins through to tie them up with they cut a gash through the skin right over each nipple on the breast and put a pin through then they turned him over and did the same on his shoulders and then tied the ropes to him and he commenced dancing and at the same time blowing on a whistle that he had in his mouth looking at the sun all of the time here he danced for about 15 minits when the skin broke letting him down perfectly exhausted then they took a squaw and cut two holes through the skin of her arm near the shoulders and in about ten minits she broke loose. these same indians had been dancing for 19 hours before this without being allowed to sit down once in the whole time and nothing to eat or drink during all the time either you may imagine they were very near giving out when they were through with the ordeal — but now they say they are brave — there are elevon of them males and Elevon females to go through the same process The Females have been dancing for Three days and nights without intermission and have fasted during all of this time — not taking so much as a swallow of water

P. M. . . . well the Indian dance is over with and the poor exhausted beings have gone to rest thinking that they have accomplished a great deal in the way of having the great spirit aid them in their war with other tribes and in giving them plenty of buffalo and all other kinds of game. . . .

Henry W.

⁸¹ For the Sun dance, see *ibid.*, 2:649-52.

[Wieneke Diary]

June 12, 1863 . . . News from the santees by some of them who were met by some Yanktonais says that the Sautees Cut heads, and another band called "they who eat no Buffalo" are encamped on the head waters of the James river camped on the open prairie — no wood near they are forced to burn Buffalo chips.⁸² . . .

Monday June 15 1863 Morning warm. Drill this Morn in cavalry Tactics the Cavalry came up and camped about one mile above the fort

Tuesday June 16th 1863 was up to camp this A. M. all of the horses belonging to the Cavalry stampeded this A M and went down to the little Missouri before they could be caught. One of the men belonging to the Cavalry set fire to the prairie this P. M. and it has burned all over the upland destroying all of the feed for the horses made a wooden sabre this P. M.

June 17th 1863 . . . the fire is still spreading this day and burning up what little grass there is around here Colonel Pattee ordered Sargt Pumphrey⁸³ to go up and take some of the men along to fight it I went along and we put some of it out but had a hard job of it as it would burn almost [as] fast as we would put it out it would ignite again. . . .

Friday 19th June 1863 . . . Mail brought the news that Gen'l Sully is at present in command of this district Gen'l Cook having been ordered to Genl Pope's Head quarters also news that the troops at Ft Randall have killed 7 Indians and wounded one supposed to be Brulies.⁸⁴ . . .

⁸² The dried droppings of the buffalo, used for firewood by the Indians, and later by emigrants crossing the plains.

⁸³ Horace B. Pumphrey of Iowa City, Sergeant of Co. B (later Co. L, 7th Cavalry). *Roster and Record*, 4:1355.

⁸⁴ According to Pattee, Major Ten Broeck and one of his captains deliberately killed seven friendly Indians. Being new to the territory, and not knowing friendly from hostile Indians, they thereby endangered the whole expedition. Pattee expressed a very low opinion of most of the men of the 6th Cavalry, because so many of them were lawyers. "I will risk my reputation as a soldier," Pattee wrote, "by saying right here that a lawyer is no good in the army." Pattee managed to soothe the Indians of the tribe whose members were killed by Ten Broeck's foolishness. Later, Samuel M. Pollock of Dubuque, Lieut. Col. of the 6th Cavalry, ordered his men to consider all Indians above Fort Randall as hostile, another dangerous attitude in the opinion of men who had been among the Indians for over a year and knew the difference between the tribes. Fortunately, no ill resulted from the ignorance of the officers of the 6th. Pattee, "Dakota Campaigns," 293-5; *Roster and Record*, 4:1127. The burning of the prairie, the prime source of feed for the horses, was another irresponsible act of men ignorant of the frontier.

[Wieneke letter to wife.]

Ft. LaFromboise D T

June 9th 1863

The 2nd Batallion of the 7th [sic. 6th] Iowa Cavalry is Encamped about Four miles from here below Ft Pierre. some of them are up here every day. The First Batallion is at Ft Randall the Third is either at Sioux City or on the way up the James River hunting Sauntees. . . . Lieut Colonel Pattee is at present in this Fort with us. he treats us first rate and I am changing my opinion of him very fast I had always been prejudiced against him by our Officers but find that they were wrong and he was almost right The Colonel is Expecting to hear about our horses every day now I hope they will come soon

all is quiet here one of the american Fir Co's Boats passed here yesterday another Boat for this post is expected here today The Colonel told me yesterday that the mail was expected here today too I hope it will come. . . .

Thursday June 17th [sic] 1863

. . . nothing new except that I am buisy learning the Cavalry calls for the Bugle. . . .

Wednesday June 17th [sic] 1863

. . . The cavalry moved up to the flat about $\frac{3}{4}$ of one mile above this fort. The next day after they moved up here the horses all broke out of the karell and came thundering by the fort and some of them went Ten miles before they were caught. yesterday one of the men set fire to the Prarie above the Fort, and in half an hour time all the grass on the Bluffs for Two miles above and below us were blazing thus destroying what little feed there was for the [horses] around here and all done out of wanton meanness They are the meanest set of men take them all together that I ever set my Eyes on some few of them are good but the greater part of them are secessionists and jaolbirds — if the whole Reg't are like the 2nd Batallion I would not give any thing for the fighting they will do, but I hope they are the poor end of the Regt and the rest are better. P M 3 Oc have just returned from the Bluffs where about Two Dozen of us have been trying to extinguish the fire to keep it from consuming all of the grass still remaining we had a hard job of it as it would ignite almost as fast as we put it out the grass being so dry and the ground so hot Colonel Pattee

was with us fighting as much as any of us once the fire got at my leg after I had whipped it out and gone on to whip another spot it blazed up under my foot again and scorched my leg a little but not enough to hurt any.

We are all drilling in the Cavalry Exercise now having all made wooden sabres for the purpose of sabre practice until our arms come up which I hope will be very soon. . . .

[Letter from "W. W." in *Iowa City Republican*, June 24, 1863.]

Ft. Randall, June 13 [1863]

Eds. Republican: . . . The 1st Battalion 6th Iowa Cavalry, Major Shephard, under command of Lt. Col. Pollock⁸⁵ arrived at this garrison from Sioux City, and are now camped on a nice elevation west of the Fort.

Col. Pollock on his arrival issued an order prohibiting any Indians straying on, or visiting the Military Reservation, and I tell you that Indians about Ft. Randall are now a "scarce article." The Col. and Major Shepherd have been for the last few days quite unwell, entirely confined to their quarters; but I hope they will be in a few days "all right" again.

The Battalion looks finely, and is in good health and spirits; and I understand that Col. Pollock's motto is, to take no prisoners and I believe it is well imbued into the spirit of his whole Battalion.

Since my last, Steamer Florence passed with some 1300 Shantee [Santee] Indians including women and children, also Steamer West Wind with, I was informed, some 1100 Winnebagoes for the New Agency, located on Crow Creek about one hundred miles above this Post under the care and direction of Col. Clark W. Thompson, Superintendent of Indian affairs.⁸⁶

. . .

A small Detachment of 1st Battalion 6th Iowa Cavalry, and a few from Co. H. Dakota Cavalry left under Capt. Moreland,⁸⁷ Co. G, yesterday morning 13th on a scouting expedition . . . and had a little *brush* in which seven Indians were killed none of our men were injured. . . . The Indians had excellent rifles and shotguns. The Detachment returned last evening.

. . .

Yours, W. W.

⁸⁵ Thomas H. Shephard of Iowa City, Major, and Samuel M. Pollock of Dubuque, Lieut. Col. of the 6th Iowa Cavalry. *Roster and Record*, 4:1127.

⁸⁶ See note 79.

⁸⁷ Abraham B. Moreland of Delaware County, Captain, Co. G, 6th Iowa Cavalry. *Roster and Record*, 4:1203.

[Wieneke Diary]

Monday June 22nd 1863 . . . The Indians who went down the River with Frank Lafrombois have just returned and report the Indians who were killed at Randall as belonging to the Two kettle Band they all have relations here and these have commenced howling and crying already. . . .

[Letter from "W. W." in *Iowa City Republican*, July 15, 1863.]

Fort Randall, June 28 [1863]

Eds. Republican: For the last two weeks we have been more than busy. Steamers whistling at our landing and troops arriving almost every day gives Fort Randall the appearance of a noted and business place.

Brig. Gen. A. Sully arrived at this fort on the steamer War Eagle — the steamer Belle Peoria in company — to-day. They are to leave in a day or two with the supplies for the expedition up the river against the Indians.

We understand that Lt. Col. Pattee is ordered to move his headquarters to Sioux City, Iowa, to take, in the absence of Gen. Sully, the command of the District (1st Military District, Department of the North West). We feel that the command is placed in good hands, and his many friends must feel gratified at the honored position he is called upon to fill.

On the 16th ult., Corp'l Klinhesling⁸⁸ of Co. A, 6th Iowa Cavalry (Capt. Galligan's⁸⁹), was drowned while watering his horse. After searching with grab-hooks for some hours, his body was found, and his remains now lie in Ft. Randall burying ground. His sudden and untimely death must come to his friends as to his companions in arms, with deep sadness. Capt. Galligan, with his own hands, and the aid of an assistant, built a substantial fence of beautiful red cedar to enclose the grave. . . .

Yours in haste, W. W.

[Wieneke Diary]

Sunday June 28th 63 The Cavalry move this morn going up to Willow Creek about Twenty miles above here. . . . Edward Pinney was taken to Ft Pierre to the Hospital this A. M. P. M. 8 Oclock Corp White and Ed Brawer⁹⁰ have just arrived from Pierre with the news that Pinney is dead

⁸⁸ Gerhard Kleinhesling of Davenport, Fifth Corp., Co. A, 6th Iowa Cavalry. *Ibid.*, 1185.

⁸⁹ John Galligan of Davenport, Captain, Co. A, 6th Iowa Cavalry. *Ibid.*, 1167.

⁹⁰ Benjamin C. White of Iowa, Fifth Corp., Co. L, 7th Iowa Cavalry; Edward D. Brower of Iowa City, private of Co. L, 7th Iowa Cavalry. *Ibid.*, 4:1277, 1390.

This is a sad Blow on our Co and the first one of the kind that has yet happened in our Co but I fear unless there is a change in diet and mode of living soon there will be more of the same. . . .

Thursday July 2nd 1863 . . . P. M. 6½ O'clock more bad news Russe Bartlett⁹¹ died this Eve at 5½ O'clock same disease as Pinney, sinking chills this is getting too much for us it is time we got out of this Place before we all die

Friday July 3rd 1863 new arrangements this morn. Buglers Call 15 min of 4 o'clock Reveille 4 O'clock Drill call 15 minits after drill one hour Breakfast Call 5-30. Dinner call 12.00 Supper call 5-30 Drill call 6.00 — went down to Fort Pierre to attend the Funeral this A. M. Came back at Three P M very tired The hunters came back about 8 O'clock with one Elk All the large game they had killed. . . .

Sat July 4th 1863 this is the Anniversary of our nations Birthday and in the states would be a joyful day for us but here we do not feel very Jubilant. . . . this Eve we recd orders to Cross the River as soon as the first Boat arrives which will be tomorrow. . . .

[Letter from "N. R." in *Iowa City Republican*, July 22, 1863.]

Fort Randall, July 5 [1863]

Eds. Republican: We have just had our Fourth. Between sundown and dusk the martial band played from their quarters to the garrison flag-staff, where, by appointment, the ladies, soldiers and citizens met. . . . Brig. Gen. A. Sully being called for, gave a brief but touching address, stating that "Some of the most pleasant associations of his life were connected with Fort Randall," "yet he was sorry to state that many of those that were among his warmest friends, are now in arms against their and his country," and the brave men (2d infantry U. S. A.) that he had the honor once of commanding, are now nearly all dead. In a few days, he said, he would have to be leaving, and that Fort Randall would be left in our charge, and "Boys take care of it while I am gone," and left the stand amid a storm of cheers.

Col. Wilson,⁹² 6th Iowa cavalry, was then called upon, and gave a stir-

⁹¹ Edward Pinney and Russell Bartlett of Iowa City, privates, Co. L, 7th Iowa Cavalry. *Ibid.*, 1277, 1354. Both are listed as dying of "congestive chills." *Report . . . Adjutant General . . . 1866-1867* (2 vols., Des Moines, 1867), 1:342.

⁹² David S. Wilson of Dubuque, Colonel of the 6th Iowa Cavalry. *Roster and Record*, 4:1127.

ring, regular Iowa Fourth of July speech, often interrupted by ringing cheers; after which followed a number of toasts and responses. In short, we had an excellent fourth, one we will remember with gladness. . . .

Yours, in much haste, N. R.

[Wieneke Diary]

Sat July 11th 1863 . . . we rec'd orders to move to Ft. Pierre tomorrow morn took down the tents this Eve and sent them down

Sunday July 12th 1863 . . . arose at Three Oclock sent the team down with one load of goods this Morn and waited for the team to return for the Bal[ance] Wm Buckley⁹³ of our Co died last night at the other fort this is the third one of our Co that has left us

M 12 Oclock on Board Boat Bell Peora, going up to Camp came down to Ft Pierre at 8 Oclock and came aboard at 1/2 past Eleven got under way and went up to camp six of our Co stayed to Bury Buckley they will come up this Eve and cross opposite our camp. . . .

Camp Peoria⁹⁴ July 12th 1863 The calls for this Command will be as follows until farther orders

Reveille	Day Break
Roll call	15 minits after
Breakfast call	6 Oclock A M
Surgeons call	9 " "
Guard mount	8 " "
First Sargeants call	11 " "
Dinner call	12 " M
Supper call	6 " P M
Retreat	sun set
Tattoo	9 Oclock P M
Taps	9 1/4 " "

Sat July 25th 1863 . . . this Morn about 8 Oclock the Brigade commenced coming in over the Bluffs headed by Genl Sully & his Body Guard next came the 3rd Batallion of 6th Regt [sic. Cavalry] among whom I see a number of old acquaintances whom I was very glad to see. . . .

⁹³ William Buckley of Solon died of "billious fever," at Fort Pierre, July 11, 1863. *Ibid.*, 4:1278; *Adjutant General's Report, 1866-1867*, 1:342.

⁹⁴ Camp Peoria was about ten miles north of Fort Pierre. This move was made on orders to move all troops to the east side of the river. Pattee, "Dakota Campaigns," 295.

Sunday July 26th 1863 . . . Recd Orders to be ready to go down to agency with train of Wagons tomorrow. . . .

Monday July 27th 1863 up at Three had Breakfast by four and Tents down started at half past seven met train of wagons and the First Battalion of 6th Cav about half past nine Oc about Ten miles out from camp Peoria Day very pleasant and about Three miles farther on met the Beef Cattle and also the mail for the Brigade about Two or Three miles further met Two Boats on the way to the Camp above — traveled about Twenty one miles and camped on the river bottom⁹⁵

Tuesday July 28th 1863 Morn Cool started at five oclock and made 15 miles over the very roughest road imaginable camped about 8 Oclock on the river bottom

Wednesday July 29th 1863 day warm started at 4 Oclock traveled about 28 miles camped at Elevon Oclock road good for Dakotah Ter caught a Deserter last night belonging to Co L 6th Cav. . . .

Thursday July 30 started at 4 and came into camp at six at the Boat landing about 3 miles above the agency 2nd Neb and one Co of 30th Wis here⁹⁶ large pile of goods Winnebago Indian very plenty here⁹⁷

Friday July 31st morn pleasant went down to the agency this Morn a

⁹⁵ The troops under Gen. Sully were being concentrated for the move northward to meet Sibley's troops, coming from Minnesota. Sibley, however, had moved out by mid-June, had fought several battles with the Indians and driven them across the Missouri. Not hearing from Sully, Sibley began the return march to Minnesota on August 1, reaching St. Paul on Aug. 14. Roddis, *Indian Wars of Minnesota*, 205-213. Meanwhile, Pope had sent Sully several impatient letters, protesting his delay, since Sully's slowness spoiled Pope's plans for a two-pronged attack on the Sioux. Sully's delay was caused by low water on the Missouri. *Official Records*, Vol. XXII, Part II, 434, 496-7, 502-503.

⁹⁶ Sully's army consisted of the 30th Wisconsin; 2 companies of Dakota cavalry; the 6th Iowa Cavalry; 4 companies of the 7th Iowa Cavalry (formerly the 3 companies of the 41st Infantry Battalion, and the Sioux City Cavalry); and eight companies of the 2nd Nebraska Cavalry. *Official Records*, Vol. XXII, Part II, 350.

⁹⁷ Although Wieneke is not clear here, it is evident that some of the troops had been sent down to Fort Thompson, where the Winnebago Indians had been settled in May, 1863. (See note 79.) Officially, this site was known in Washington as the Winnebago or Crow Creek Agency, but people in Dakota knew it as Fort Thompson. Some of the soldiers from Fort Randall had helped in building the agency buildings, which were surrounded by a stockade. "A company of volunteers from the Sixth Iowa Cavalry was left as a guard, which was joined later by a second company [evidently Wieneke's company] and these, with the ordinary white employees and camp followers, made up a community that formed one of the largest in the territory." *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 1:300-301.

very pleasant place all the houses are built of Boards and are good ones the best in the Ter north of Randall. . . .

[Letter from "W. W." in *Iowa City Republican*, Aug. 26, 1863.]

Fort Randall,
Aug. 10 [1863]

Dear Republican: . . . Since my last, some changes have marked the movements of the expedition. Gen. Sully, with his troops, has passed Ft. Pierre, yet it seems the movements are but slow. The river is so extremely low, that steamboating (which was the source to which the General looked for his supplies), is nearly "dried up." Much of the prairies have been burned over by the Indians, and the whole season having been so unusually dry, the grass is scarce and extremely poor through the whole country, making it more than difficult for the progress of the expedition. Many believe that for this season, the expedition must prove, more or less, a failure; yet, Gen. Sully seems undaunted in his determination, and report has it, that he is about selecting 1,000 of his best troops and horses, and strike, with all possible speed and caution, for Knife River (not Devil's Lake as first reported), between four and five hundred miles above Ft. Pierre, where, it is ascertained, Little Crow and his bands have made a stand for battle. The health of the expedition is not the best, some two or three have already died. We have not learned names, except Corp. S. Randall, Co. I, 6th Iowa Cavalry, who was brought to this post from the expedition, by Serg't Whitlock.⁹⁸ He was interred in the burying ground at Fort Randall.

The Indians are still committing cruel massacres in different portions of the country. About nineteen miles below Yankton, this Territory, near St. James, on the Nebraska side of the Missouri, on the night of the 26th July last, the family of Mr. Wiseman, who is a soldier in the 2d Nebraska Cavalry, and with the expedition under Gen. Sully, and in the absence of the mother, Indians visited the house, horribly murdering and mangling the five children, three of whom the assassins left dead upon the crimsoned floor; the others died in 2 or 3 days. The oldest, a girl aged about 15 years, had

⁹⁸ Samuel Randall of Elkport, First Corp., Co. I, 6th Iowa Cavalry, died of chronic diarrhea. *Roster and Record*, 4:1220; *Adjutant General's Report, 1866-1867*, 1:335. William N. Whitlock of Windham, Fourth Sergeant, Co. I, 6th Iowa Cavalry. *Roster and Record*, 4:1244.

been most brutally and shamefully treated. A detachment from Co. B, Dakota Cavalry, are in pursuit of the savage murderers.⁹⁹

The steamer Robert Campbell Jr., arrived 26th ult., reporting having difficulties some two or three times with Indians, on her way down from Fort Berthold (350 miles above Fort Pierre). When within about 100 miles of Fort Union, a large band of Indians having been on their trail some three days, when it was decided to send a yawl to shore (the steamer being anchored in the river, deeming it unsafe to land), to bring some of the chiefs on board and make them presents.

This project was strongly opposed by many on board, and also met a strong opposition from the men detailed to perform the dangerous duty. But threats, force and entreaty prevailed, and six of the boatmen were placed in the yawl, to meet the red skins. As they reached the shore they were cordially met with the Indian's treacherous how! how! But no sooner were these welcomes given than three of the men fell victims to the deadly weapons of the Indians, two were wounded, one alone escaping unhurt, who brought his dead and wounded comrades back to the steamer. About 70 guns from the steamer opened on them a deadly fire, and a score of the savages "bit the dust."

Much might be said as to the cruel and unwarrantable conduct of the captain of the boat (name unknown), but I shall leave it for abler pens.¹⁰⁰

. . .

Yours, W. W.

[Wieneke diary]

Aug. 10th 1863 hard storm last night our tent leaked very bad warm this Morn made boxes to pack some horse shoes in on which the kegs had burst. . . .

Aug 11th 1863 . . . Ten of us went to work making a house of logs Ten feet by Twelve inside. we cut the logs and carried them all up and laid

⁹⁹ The children of Henson Wiseman were killed while the mother was at Yankton and the father serving in the 2nd Nebraska Cavalry. The Indians who killed them were led by a son of Inkpaduta, the Indian responsible for the Spirit Lake massacre in Iowa in 1857. Pattee, "Dakota Campaigns," 297.

¹⁰⁰ The captain of the *Robert Campbell* was Joseph La Barge. For an extended account of this incident, which was thought to be a revenge for the Indians killed by the 6th Iowa Cavalry at Fort Randall (see note 84), see Elliott Coues (ed.), *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri. The Personal Narrative of Charles Carpentier, 1833-1872* (2 vols., New York, 1898), 2:347-9 and note, p. 347.

them up. I think providence favoring we will finish tomorrow. Steamer shreveport came up today Lieut Schell came on her passed on up to Camp peoria

Aug 12th day cloudy finished putting up the house & roofed it the steamer Belle Peoria came down this Eve with Cos I & K Wisconsin troops on board they are ordered back down to Wis the Boat will take this grain up to Camp P. . . .

Thursday Aug 13th 63 . . . put bunks in our Shebang. . . .

[Wieneke letter to wife]

Camp on Winnebago Reserve

D. T. Aug 5th 1863

. . . long very much to get away from this place out of the wind & dust which is almost unbearable here last Three days it has been blowing incessantly stirring up the loose sand & dust and blowing it around our heads in thick clouds. last night we had one of the strongest wind gales and I thought I would surely smother the dust was so thick. I never see so much ground passing through the air at one time in my life you could cut it with a knife it was so thick it blew for about Two hours as hard as any hurricane throwing large sticks and gravel in our faces with such force as to cut through the skin — the most of our Co took to the open Prarie for fear of the Trees falling on them Meantime I was trying to keep my things together my pants are gone I guess they blew into the river also the only spare shirt I had I was out in my drawers, and come to look for my pants they were gone with all the money I had amounting to some Nine dollars. Well I will have to do without some of the extras that I had been calculating on for the next Three months. fortunately I have another old pair of pants that will last me until we get below lots of the boys lost clothing last night. I guess they are all in the old Missou I have been hunting all around the camp for them this Morn and found my blouse. . . .

Sunday Aug 10th 1863

. . . nothing new here one Boat passed up Day before yesterday with stores for Gen'l Sulley [sic] another one is expected up today. I wish one would take our freight from here and relieve us so that we could go on down the river but I must have patience. . . .

Camp Winnebago Res'

Aug 19th 1863

. . . I am still lying around this dirty camp last night the wind was very high again and the dirt and limbs just flew through the air, but it could not hurt us as we were in our shanty only the dust blew through about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick over our beds and ourselves. Yesterday some of us went up the river to find some Plums but could not find one as the Indians pick them all and do not even let them get ripe. I got my haversack full of summer grapes and they are pretty good eating for a person that gets no fresh fruit unless he pays one Dollar per can for it. I tell you this is a dull way of living I wish we could get out of it. . . .

Thursday Aug 20th 1863

. . . I wish you could be with me to eat some of the fancy pies that I made last night. They are made out of Buffalo berries, Grapes, and dried appels. Two of us went into it. I furnished the green fruit and my partner furnished the appels and by not drinking any coffee for the last Ten days I saved sugar enough to sweeten them. I tell you they tasted good to us up here the Grapes & B berries make them taste almost like fresh appel pies. we recd news from Genl S yesterday he has moved his command up the river. last Monday he was at the mouth of the Big Sheyen [Cheyenne] about Sixty miles above Camp Peorria still on the move. I hope he has or soon will overtake the Indians and give them a good drubbing. . . .

[Wieneke Diary]

Sunday Aug 23rd 1863 day cool and windy most of the boys gone to agency to hear a sermon. very dull, and set me to thinking of home and of my family. . . . just imagine myself in my dear old home on this day . . . and then look down to the reality sitting here in a tent [on] this windy dry barren prairie chilled through by cold go out of the tent my Eye meets naught but parched dusty sandy desert the cold wind pircing me to the very bone and blowing my Eyes full of sand In such moments as these how sweet are the lines of that dear old song "Home sweet home There is no place like home" and still I am satisfied and would be if my stay here were only doing my beloved country any good, but I would much prefer being in the southern fields where I could show that I were indeed a soldier. and my lot it certainly would not be any harder than it is here where I am kept on thankless service, a dry barren desert, not fit for a human being to live in, nought but rotten rations

unfit for Indians or dogs to eat and away from all Christian or civilized society. . . .

[Letter from Corwin Lee¹⁰¹ of 7th Iowa Cavalry, in *Iowa City Republican*, Nov. 18, 1863.]

BUFFALO AND BUFFALO HUNTING

. . . Today, August 23d, the first buffalo were seen since setting out upon this expedition. Shortly after camping a party of hunters, detailed from the 2d Nebraska, ran a buffalo bull into the camp, and succeeded in killing him after quite a chase. It was the first I had ever seen, and it is said to be, by those who pretend to know, a four year old. — The head and shoulders are shaggy and very massy. The hair on the top of the head and neck being six or eight inches long, while from the shoulders backward it was scarcely half an inch long. It took a span of mules and half a company of men to drag it on the ground. In honor of the circumstance, we called the stream on which we were camped *Bull's Run*.

On another occasion we came across a drove of some forty or fifty. The hunters that are detailed from each regiment every day, and the only ones besides the guides and scouts that are permitted outside of the lines, were soon among them scattering them in every direction, and during the whole day they were chasing them, killing some fifteen or twenty altogether. These hunters are all green hands at the business, being just detailed for the day, and of course, were nearly crazy with the excitement. One man of Co. C, 6th Iowa, shot his own horse directly in the shoulder, while Lieut. Brown,¹⁰² of Co. M, being out to see the fun, got his horse shot in the neck, which threw him sprawling upon the ground. The ball, however, was cut out on the opposite side of the neck, and did the horse but little injury. In the midst of the excitement, the command was halted to give the hunters a fair show, and they were just in advance of us; whereupon, the men broke ranks in every direction to get a good view of the chase, and some even joined it without and regardless of orders. The General says the men are a d—d sight wilder than the buffalo. The Indian guide says to-morrow we will see *heap* of buffalo.

¹⁰¹ Corwin Lee of Sioux City, private in Co. I (originally Sioux City Cavalry), 7th Iowa Cavalry. *Roster and Record*, 4:1329. His regiment was with Sully on the march north.

¹⁰² James Brown of Dubuque, First Lieut., Co. M, 6th Iowa Cavalry. *Ibid.*, 4:1144.

On the morning of the 26th of August, we had been marching but a short time when we came in sight of a very large drove of buffalo. The hunters, as usual, were soon in their midst, scattering death and destruction among them. A single rider would select his victim, and give him a shot, when Mr. Buffalo, frightened and smarting with pain, would start off across the prairie at full speed, which is but a slow, rolling, lumbering, ox like gait, with mouth wide open, eyes glaring, tail distended and hair erect. As each succeeding shot took effect in his body, he would wheel and sheer, in the vain endeavor to escape from his pursuing and determined foe, until a shot taking effect in some vital spot, would cause him to stop, reel and fall, while the proud conqueror of the monarch of the prairies would stand a moment contemplating the work of his hands with no little degree of satisfaction, conscious of having accomplished something of which to boast in the future to wondering friends, when he shall have returned to the land of civilization.

BATTLE WITH THE INDIANS¹⁰³

On the morning of the 3d of September, about 7 o'clock we took up our march, the weather being quite cool. After marching about eighteen or twenty miles, we came to a small lake, the water as usual being poor, but the grass which had been getting better, here was quite good; a god-send for our horses. Just before arriving at our camp at this point, we came upon ground that offered unequivocal evidence of Indians being not far off; for it appeared that they had been killing buffalo not more than two or three days before.—Within a distance of less than a mile, we could count the carcasses, or what was left of more than twenty-five buffaloes; and Capt. King, of the General's staff, said that a short distance from here were the remains of more than fifty. We camped this day quite early, at least two hours before sundown, picketed our horses and pitched

¹⁰³ The Battle of White Stone Hill, the only engagement of Sully's troops during 1863. Sully had reached a point near the present city of Bismarck, North Dakota, when he heard that Sibley had returned to Minnesota, and that the Indians had re-crossed the Missouri and were southeast of him between the Missouri and James rivers. Turning in that direction, Sully surprised a camp of the Indians at White Stone Hill (near the present town of Ellendale, Dickey County, North Dakota), and defeated them. The following account tallies fairly well with other descriptions of the battle. See Robinson, "History of the Sioux Indians," 326-9; for Sully's reports, see *Official Records*, Vol. XXII, Part I, 555-68; see also, Drips, *Three Years Among the Indians*, 44-5; J. C. Luse, 6th Iowa Cavalry, "The Battle of White Stone Hill," *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 5:417-19 (1910).

our tents. Most of our boys had eat their suppers, except those in the mess to which I belonged, and we were engaged in that branch of our duties, when we discovered a man on horseback coming towards our camp at full speed; and in a moment two more appeared behind the first, approaching us at the same headlong gait.

When we first saw them they were five or six miles distant, in a South-eastern direction from our camp. The front man rode nearly round the lake in front of us; dashed thro' the mud, passed our camp, and up to the head-quarters of the General without making a halt or pause, and informed the General that Major House,¹⁰⁴ who was in charge of the battalion composed of Cos. F, H, I and C, of the 6th Iowa Cavalry, that had gone on ahead of us, had surprised and surrounded a large camp of Indians, ten miles distant; but dared not attack them with the force he had with him, but would try and hold them in check until the General could come up. The other two men belonged to Co. C. The first was a Frenchman, one of the guides,¹⁰⁵ and, as the General had offered a reward of a hundred dollars in gold to the man who would bring the first news of an Indian to camp, we had an explanation of the rapidity of their movements. In a moment came the order for the battery to harness up; then the bugle called to horse. Some of the boys were half a mile from camp with their horses, scattered over the prairie, others were asleep; but most of them had seen the guide coming in, and were expecting something unusual; and in a moment the scene was all hurry and animation.

Anticipating a night on the prairie, I carefully finished my supper, and put a supply of hard bread in my saddle-pockets, in case of an emergency. Soon we were all in the saddle, the General at the head of our company; the battery behind us, and the two regiments on our flanks, as usual, except that they had changed sides, which I attributed to either a matter of haste or convenience; the Nebraska 2d being on our right and the 6th Iowa on our left; and instantly we were under way at full speed.

The horses, surprised at this unusual circumstance, and frightened at the noise of so much running, and the jingling of sabres, were so unruly

¹⁰⁴ Albert E. House of Delhi, Major, 6th Iowa Cavalry. *Roster and Record*, 4:1127. For House's account of the battle, see *Official Records*, Vol. XXII, Part I, 564-5, and below pp. 173-6.

¹⁰⁵ Francois La Framboise. Robinson, "History of the Sioux Indians," 327; *Official Records*, Vol. XXII, Part I, 557, 558.

and hard to manage that, for the first mile or so, the advance looked more like a rout than anything else; some of them rearing, kicking and plunging, and putting forth their best endeavors to dislodge their riders; but they all stuck to their saddles. Hats, caps, haversacks and picket-ropes strewn the way; while the battery, which kept up with us, was doing some promiscuous bouncing around, apparently being determined to upset or shake itself to pieces; but would always strike some other bump or hole in time to right up, or send it over in the other direction.

We passed, in our course, between a couple of lakes or ponds, which having partly dried out, had left the ground between them in an almost impassable condition, and by the time near fourteen hundred head of horses had passed through, it became a *nice place, you bet*. In company with several others, I got separated from my company, by the checking up of the battery, by the advance, and the crowding in of the regiments on the flanks after getting across, and it took a headlong race of a quarter of a mile or more to regain our places. The two regiments were ordered ahead to flank the Indians, and as they passed us at the top of their speed, they shouted and cheered, evidently well pleased at the prospect of an early fight.

When we arrived at the Indian camp it was between sundown and dark, and they had taken down their *tepas*, or tents, and packed up a few of the most valuable and necessary of their things, and were moving slowly towards the south while so packing their goods. It seems that in the meantime the Indians had been negotiating with the Major, declaring their friendship, and expressing a willingness to send a hundred of their braves to General Sully, for the purpose of gaining time and bringing on darkness. Seeing their intention, the Major told them that if they did not remain quiet, and come along with him he would soon have a *heap* of soldiers and big guns, when he would drive them along. But they laughed at him, telling him they knew how many men he had, and to just wait until they got their squaws and papooses out of the way, and they would attend to him.¹⁰⁶ In the meantime Major House had dispatched his messengers to camp with news of the situation. The Indians also either sent out a run-

¹⁰⁶ Major House reported this incident as follows: ". . . the chiefs came in under a flag of truce and attempted a negotiation. They offered to surrender some of their chiefs; but as the commandant did not know who was entitled to speak by authority, he demanded the unconditional surrender of all. This the Indians refused to do, and, having sent away their squaws and papooses, together with their stock of provisions, they placed themselves in battle array." *Ibid.*, 564.

ner or had one out, who followed the guide to see what he was at, who, having discovered us, carried the word back that the prairie was covered with white warriors, who were coming as fast as they could, and would soon be upon them. This news created a panic among them at once, as our men reached the ground in a few moments afterwards.

But before this, they had persuaded the Major that he was too close to them, stating that his forces frightened their ponies and squaws, and he had withdrawn his men a few hundred yards, when he saw the Indians making their way to the south and left of him. The Major, however, moved in pursuit of them, and got ahead of them again, when he counted his men off in fours and dismounted them, leaving every fourth man to hold horses, and was on the point of advancing upon the Indians when Col. Wilson arrived, gave the order to mount and move forward on horseback; and when within a few yards of the Indians, without making any preparation to fight, were fired upon by the Indians, who forced their way through and passed the left. In the meantime the General had arrived on the ground, and the first thing he did was to take possession of and disarm some Indians that remained quiet. They did not like to give up their arms, but did so when a portion of the guard were marched in front of them. During this time darkness was coming on. The Nebraskans had halted, awaiting orders, and to learn the situation of the Indians, when they were ordered to advance and to take the Indians if they could. In a moment afterwards we heard the report of a gun, fired by the Indians at Co. F, of Major House's battalion, which killed the horse of one of the men, who was himself afterwards killed, after having shot two Indians.

This shot from the Indians was followed by a volley from our men of the 2d Nebraska, and for the next twenty minutes the firing was sharp and incessant. The Indians were in a small hollow, or ravine, when they first fired on our men, the 6th Iowa, on the top of the hill on their horses.

When the firing began, their horses, for a time, became unmanageable. Some of the men, however, fired their guns and revolvers among the Indians who lined the ravine as thick as they could stand, and among whom our minnie balls told with fearful effect, and the Nebraska boys were pitching into them from the opposite side with nearly their whole line, until it got to be so dark that they could not tell whether they were firing upon friends or foes.

Col. Wilson had his horse shot under him; also the Adjutant, who was wounded and lay on the field, covering himself with his robe. During the night he was discovered by an Indian and stabbed with a butcher-knife three or four times, the knife being left in a wound. He lived till the next day.¹⁰⁷ In this ravine the Indians' plunder lay the thickest, literally covering the ground, showing unmistakable evidence of the severity of our fire. Dead and crippled ponies, squaws, papooses and Indians lay in confusion, and blood scattered on all sides.

During the next day there was considerable running round over the battle field. One wounded Indian was discovered in the grass and with his bow and arrows he succeeded in wounding two of our men before they could kill him. He would shoot two arrows at a time, and dodge down in the tall grass before they could get a sight of him.

Our second bugler and the sergeant of the battery brought him down with their revolvers, and the bugler scalped him before he ceased kicking.

Early in the morning, while a party of our men were crossing the ground, an Indian jumped in front of them without any arms, but, savage to the last, he shook his clenched fist at them while they shot him down. We saw a little Indian boy on the field, naked and crying; no one paid any attention to him. There were eight or ten little children scattered around. They were collected together and put with the prisoners. At one place there lay two papooses; one of them four or five years old, the other only a few months. A dead squaw, probably their mother, lay by them; the elder would insist on keeping covered, saying "shoot, shoot," whenever uncovered. Another one was crying "Mamma! mamma!" as pitifully as any white child could. Two or three dead squaws, and one with her thigh broken by a shot, lay on the field.

The Indians, according to their custom, had, during the night after the fight, carried off their dead with few exceptions.

Our dead that were left upon the ground over night were invariably tomahawked, but not scalped. Some of them had arrows driven into them so that their points protruded on the opposite side.

There must have been 300 or 400 lodges of Indians. Their camp covered nearly a mile square of ground, and was literally strewn with all

¹⁰⁷ This was T. J. Leavitt of Burlington, Second Lieut. of Co. B, 6th Iowa Cavalry, acting as adjutant. *Roster and Record*, 4:1190; *Official Records*, Vol. XXII, Part I, 563.

kinds of Indian property. There must have been 200,000 pounds of buffalo meat; some dried and some partly dried; some packed and a good deal scattered over camp and prairie. Buffalo hides and antelope hides stretched on the ground, tanned and untanned, abounded in vast quantities and in every direction.

In the 6th Iowa Cavalry there were nine killed, besides the Adjutant. The 2d Nebraska lost two killed and a few wounded. Ten horses in Co. I, of the 6th Iowa were killed.¹⁰⁸

[Wieneke Diary]

Sunday Sept 6 1863 . . . the Indian agent from below was here this Eve and reports that there are signs of Sioux coming in had picket guards out last night. . . .

Monday Sept 7th great Excitement last night reports said there were from Three to Five hundred Sioux out about 3 miles back from the agency Capt M[ahana] went down to the agency and organized the winnebago Indians and returned ordered all of us but Five to go down there these Five had horses left here and if an attack was made they were to burn all the freight and everything else there was here and mount the horses and go to the agency we marched down arrived there about half past Ten O'clock taking nothing but one arm and one blanket each and about half past Twelve o'clock I lay down in the doctor's office and slept with gun & Bugle in my arms. but no attack nor alarm was given this Morn had a good Breakfast given us by the agent and part of us came back found the camp all right a detachment of all the men that could find horses is out on a scout this Morn and I suppose by Evening we will find out whether it is all a scare or not P. M. 1 oc Capt M has just come in found out that all was a yarn gotten up by the sauntee bucks down at the agency the Indian that first started [the rumor] was sentenced by Capt M to Ten day imprisonment on bread & water with shackles or chains on

Tuesday Sept 8th . . . one of the Sioux bucks was shot this day at the agency for cutting his squaws face with a knife (after which she hung herself). . . .

¹⁰⁸ The casualties in the fight were 11 killed, 35 wounded, for a total of 46. *Official Records*, Vol. XXII, Part I, 561.

[Letter from Lewis R. Wolfe¹⁰⁹ in *Iowa City Press*, Oct. 3, 1863.]

Camp near Fort Pierre,
Sept. 14th, 1863.

EDITOR PRESS: I presume ere this reaches you that the news of a battle which we fought with the Indians near White Stone Hills, will have reached you, and as nearly all of my company live in Johnson county, I presume the readers of your paper will be anxious to hear from us.

The battle was fought about sundown on the night of September 3d. Our regiment lost 14 in killed and 22 wounded, among which I regret to mention Corp. Milo N. Higgins, of my company, killed, and private Frederick Albright.¹¹⁰ wounded.

It is almost a miracle that a great many more were not killed, for we were very close to them and the bullets and arrows flew about us like hail, but I suppose it was owing to a rise in the ground between us and them and they overshot us. . . .

Please give this and the report of Major A. E. House a place in your paper and much oblige,

LEWIS R. WOLFE,
Capt., Co. I, 6th Iowa Cavalry.

IN CAMP ON BATTLEFIELD
WHITE STONE HILL.¹¹¹

COL. D. S. WILSON—*Dear Sir:* On the 3d day of September, 1863, in obedience to your orders and under instructions from Brig. Gen. Sully, I took the line of march from our camp of the night previous, which was about thirty miles from White Stone Hills, at the hour of half past five o'clock A. M., having under my command Cos. C, I, F and H, of the 6th Iowa Cavalry, and from thence proceeded in a south-easterly direction, halting every hour, dismounting the men and letting the horses rest and graze for ten minutes at a time.

At the hour of three oclock P. M., of this day, it was announced by the

¹⁰⁹ Lewis R. Wolfe of North Liberty, Captain, Co. I, 6th Iowa Cavalry. *Roster and Record*, 4:1244.

¹¹⁰ Milo N. Higgins of Benton County and Frederick Albright of Iowa City, Corporals, Co. I, 6th Iowa Cavalry. *Ibid.*, 4:1132, 1179.

¹¹¹ This letter, which appeared in the *Iowa City paper*, is similar to that in the *Official Records*, Vol. XXII, Part I, 564-5.

guides that there was a camp of Indians about three miles distant, in a south-easterly direction. At this time my command was at a halt, dismounted and the horses grazing. I immediately ordered the men to load their carbines and revolvers, which was rapidly done; the men then mounted and proceeded on a gallop toward the enemy. When within one mile of the hostile camp, the command was rallied and formed in line of battle, with Co. I in line, Cos. H and F as flankers, and Co. C as reserve, and in this way we advanced towards the camp, taking a position behind a ridge, about fifty rods from the enemy's camp, where we were entirely protected from their fire, whereas they were within easy range of our guns. After having gained this position, the guides, with Captain Marsh, of Co. H and Lieut. Dayton, of Co. C,¹¹² were sent forward, first to the right and then to the left of the hostile camp, to reconnoitre. They returned and stated there were about four hundred lodges of the enemy, and as far as they could see in a south-easterly direction there were lodges in the ravines.

Upon gaining this information our guides, with two picked men from Co. C, were started back to our camp for the purpose of giving you information of our whereabouts and that reinforcements might be sent if necessary. As the ground was very uneven and it hardly could be seen what defences could be made by the enemy as against our forces, it was determined to make a reconnoissance in force.

For this purpose Co. D was sent to the left, in command of Captain L. L. Ainsworth,¹¹³ who, under most dangerous circumstances, with great personal bravery, pushed forward with vigor and rapidity, in the face of an enemy numbering ten to his one. Co. H, for the same purpose, was led by Capt. Marsh, in nearly the same direction, with heroic courage that would have done honor to the veteran of a hundred battles. As soon as these companies had returned and reported, Co. F, under command of Capt. Shat-

¹¹² Canfield J. Marsh of Cedar Rapids, Captain, Co. H, 6th Iowa Cavalry. George E. Dayton of Volga City, First Lieut., Co. C, 6th Iowa Cavalry. *Roster and Record*, 4:1155, 1203.

¹¹³ Lucien L. Ainsworth of West Union, Captain, Co. C, 6th Iowa Cavalry. *Ibid.*, 4:1130. Ainsworth later became well known in Iowa Democratic politics, serving several terms in the state legislature and in 1874 winning election to Congress as an Anti-Monopoly-Democrat from the Third District, the first Democrat to be sent to Congress from Iowa since 1854. Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa . . .* (4 vols., New York, 1903), 4:3.

tock,¹¹⁴ was sent out to the right to ascertain the position of the enemy in that direction, and to report as to the nature of the grounds the enemy was on, who performed the task assigned him with equal bravery and ability. While this was being done, the chiefs had all come in under the proper flag and were negotiating.

They offered to surrender some of the chiefs, but as it was not easy for this command to tell who was entitled to speak by authority, of the warriors present, he insisted upon the unconditional surrender of all. But this was refused and the enemy gathered for battle, sending away first their squaws and papooses, their winter's provision of dried buffalo meat, their robes and tepes. Upon this the command was moved rapidly forward in line of battle, upon which the enemy retreated precipitately, abandoning, as they were pressed by us, first their robes, next their meat, next their tepes, and finally, all they had except their ponies. Thus we were following the enemy, scattering them in all directions, as the 2d Nebraska appeared on the hill, under command of Col. Furnas,¹¹⁵ who immediately informed the commandant of the forces of the Iowa Sixth present, that he would take the right of the flying enemy and drive them in, whereupon we immediately formed our column of forces and took the left, first upon a trot and then upon a gallop, and finally at a full charge, when we were gaining fast upon the enemy, and he abandoning everything in full flight. After a short pursuit the enemy seeming convinced that he could not hold out much longer, finally assembled in a ravine and prepared for battle. At this time we again formed in line and were advancing upon the enemy as we discovered the 2d Nebraska on our left flank and at right angles therewith, and at a considerable distance in front, and from our flank, and the enemy were dismounting and preparing to fight on foot, at the same time we saw that part of the Iowa Sixth that had remained behind formed in line parallel to the Nebraska Second. We at once advanced our lines within twenty feet of the enemy; when we had arrived within that distance, the enemy fired; our command at once returned the fire from the whole line, men and officers, with terrible effect, leaving the ground entirely covered with dead horses and men. The horses then became so restive as to be no longer manageable, under the fire,

¹¹⁴ Scott Shattuck of Waukon, Captain, Co. F, 6th Iowa Cavalry. *Roster and Record*, 4:1226.

¹¹⁵ Col. R. W. Furnas of the 2nd Nebraska Cavalry. For his report of the battle, see *Official Records*, Vol. XXII, Part I, 565-8.

even of our men, from their backs. The command was then taken back, about twenty-five rods to the rear and then prepared to fight on foot, when darkness set in and the command was formed in a hollow square, the men in front of their horses, slept on their arms. We stationed picket guards around our camp, under the charge of C. W. Fogg,¹¹⁶ Serg't Major and Lieut. Dayton, who performed the duties assigned them promptly and fearlessly, even going to the battle-field after dark to look after the wounded. For this act of mercy and bravery I recommend them to your favorable consideration; also Dr. Camborn,¹¹⁷ who came promptly to the relief of the wounded and done all he could in the darkness. In this action, among other acts of personal prowess and bravery, wish to make honorable mention of Capt. I. R. Wolfe, who stood in front of his company and fought as bravely as any person, killing at every shot one of the enemy. . . . I have to depend upon the officers for the details, as I could not see all myself. From these I learned that we killed over one hundred Indians; captured a large number of ponies the exact number of which I cannot ascertain, and a total destruction of everything they had to live upon the coming winter; for instance, over four hundred tons of dried meat and about four hundred tepes. . . .¹¹⁸

I am,

Respectfully yours,

A. E. HOUSE

[Wieneke Diary]

Tuesday Sept. 22nd started on the march up the river to where they are building the new fort. . . .

Friday Sept. 25th arrived at Ft. Antitum on the river bottom about 6 miles below Ft Pierre but 1 building up

¹¹⁶ Charles W. Fogg of Wheatland, Sergeant Major, Co. A, 6th Iowa Cavalry. *Roster and Record*, 4:1161.

¹¹⁷ Jacob H. Camburn of Cedar Rapids, surgeon of the 6th Iowa Cavalry. *Ibid.*, 1128.

¹¹⁸ Sully reported burning between 400,000 and 500,000 pounds of dried buffalo meat, 300 lodges, a large quantity of other property belonging to the Indians, and capturing a large number of their ponies. He also took some 130 prisoners. He estimated between 150 and 200 Indians killed. *Official Records*, Vol. XXII, Part I, 559-60.

[Wieneke letters to wife]

Ft Sully D. T.¹¹⁹

Oct 15th 1863

Dearest Wife . . . There has not been much news here since my last letter except that Co C 41st I I [Iowa Infantry] or now Co M 7th Cav as it now is has arrived here from Randall Co K formerly Co A is expected this P. M. I have at least received my trunk and bedding from Randall and am quite comfortable again. by the Heading of this you will see that the name of our new Fort is changed. we are still in camp the work goes on very slow at the Fort I got an old Cook stove from Ft Pierre yesterday and cooking goes much better than formerly. part of the Sixth Cav has gone down to Sioux City and part to Randall Five Co's are still here. . . .

Friday Oct 16th 1863

have just finished a big washing of all of my old old clothes an ugly job no wonder that you women always are cross washdays it is enough to make any one cross. . . .

In Camp near Ft Sully D. T.

Oct 23rd 1863

Two years of my soldiering term are up this day and only one year remains. . . . Ever since Saturday Evening it has been blowing in real hurricane style and snowing or raining continually on Sunday and Monday the 18th and 19th ult we experienced the hardest storm that it has ever been my lot to be in it began about Eleven O'clock on the night of Sat 17th wind blowing and snow falling very heavy and fast our Co's tents soon began falling the men as they were routed out either starting for the new buildings up at the fort or hunting up a tent that was still standing about Three O'clock our tent fell and left us exposed to the snow Will and I got part of our clothes on and I tried to persuade Capt M to get up but he concluded to stay under the tent as he had a bunk to lay on we then started for the only tent that was still standing in our Co and found a fire there but densely crowded I warmed up a little and went back to see about Capt M found him still dry and went back to the tent to await daylight Oh how

¹¹⁹ "Old" Fort Sully, as this fort is known, was built by Gen. Sully after the 1863 summer campaign. "It was located about eighty rods from the left (east) bank of the Missouri River, a short distance above the head of Farm Island and about four and one-half miles southeast of the city of Pierre, South Dakota." *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 1:122-3. It was several miles north of Fort Pierre. Wilson, "Fort Pierre and Its Neighbors," 309-311.

anxiously Each moment Expecting this tent to go down (Four of the men still in this tent were sick) but providence favoured us and the tent stood at length daylight appeared we went down and got Capt out and brought him up to the tent

about nine oclock I started for the fort the storm beating directly in my face the nearest building was but Three hundred yards from our camp still it took me about Twenty minits to get there, the wind very nearly taking my breath. arrived there I found the mud almost knee deep and the drunken men (for liquor had been freely dealt out) wading about through it some laying in it until they were helped out by the sober ones there were fiers built in all of the rooms on the ground and the men were crowded around them every man rubbing his Eyes trying to keep the Smoke out (which was very dense) I traveled around from one fier to another trying to get warm until about Three oclock when the snow having quit blowing I started along with six men to try and put up some tents we put up one of the mens tent and then went and scraped the snow off of our tent and raised it the mud was about six inches deep bedding all wet I managed to make a fier and by dark I had managed to get warm and change my wet clothing for dry ones as my trunk had kept dry I kept up a fier all night and next morning we went and moved the tent on a dry spot Capt M and William spent the night in the tepee of a frienchman the storm or the wind kept up strong until day before yester Eve when it quit blowing and yesterday and this day I have been helping the Boys at the quarters which we hope to get done by this time next week. . . .

Ft Sulley Dakotah Ter

Nov 29th 1863

. . . nothing new here we are expecting a large train up from Sioux City the rumors Say our arms and cavalry Equipments are on it. we have been having some cold weather this last week. Will and I went out to get a load of wood yesterday and I thought I would frieze my nose and Ears walking against the sharp wind. This is my homesick day again Every sunday I am homesick. . . . Tomorrow is Inspection day again only Ten Inspection days more and then comes the muster out day oh what joy that will be when I can once more say I am free. . . .

Fort Sully D.T. Feb 16th 64

A dull Evening is upon me and I have nothing to do but think of you and our Dear Children. it makes me homesick. . . . I tell you it is enough to make me homesick, to be up here away from all pleasures and comforts of home, sitting in a cold room alone nothing but old worn out papers to read, and all the comfort I have is to think of you, but I must be contented I brought it upon myself and I am getting paid for it. a fine way this is of serving ones country I don't think you will catch me at it again when I get out this time. . . .

Wednesday Feb 17th 64

. . . we came very near being burned out here today Co M's cook-room took fier over head from the Bake oven and in five minits the whole Celing was enveloped in fier the Building is the north west corner of the Fort and the wind was right from that quarter. the smoke was so thick as to Invelop the whole fort and so strong as very near to smother the whole garrison several men did fall down from the effects of it. for about Two hours after the fier raged on in that one corner being kept there by a plentiful application of cold water. and the logs all being green we were able to put it out without further dammage than the burning of that cook room and the partial unroofing of the two buildings adjoining the kitchen on either side from which the rooves were torn, to stop the fier from spreading. Fortunately for us all that the fort was all built of fresh timber or we had all been roofless tonight and I think in that case part of us would have been frozen to death before morning, the weather being very cold and inclement. well I have given you a history of the great events of this day, and now I must close for this night and retire to my couch. a fine one it is as hard as a rock (the hay being so much broken up that there is no use of trying to soften it up and no new hay to be gotten). . . .

Tuesday 23rd Feb 1864

. . . had another concert last night, full house; and all well pleased these concerts might not suit a City audience but up here they will do very well. I played a "solo" on the "flute" which was well cheered. . . . the River is breaking up the ice is all piled up. one Indian tried to cross yesterday on the Ice and was drowned. a great many men sick with scurvy. there are about fifty men on sick list at present. if the great Sanitary Committee would only be kind enough to send some of its supplies up here I know it would do us all some good. . . .

Fort Sully D. T. March 7th 1864

. . . the veterans¹²⁰ are preparing to leave for home on their Furloughs they expect to start inside of ten Days. we will be lonesome here after they all leave there will only be about One Hundred men left here. . . .

Fort Sully Dakota Ter.

March 30th 64

. . . I have been buisy shoveling snow this A. M. from the roof of Capt M room to prevent its soaking through you cannot imagine how it was Drifted the eave of the roof is about Eight feet from the ground and it was drifted up Four feet higher than that. Yesterday Morn, I went over to make up a fier for the Capt and I could not find the Door, as it was all closed up with snow. I got a Shovel and commenced digging for the window of the room and had to dig down about Sevon feet. we that is Snook and I were very near Two hours getting a lane through to the door, he digging from the inside and I from the outside. The rooms were all covered with snow it having Drifted through holes and crevices under the Dirt roof. the walls were all festooned with snow, one place it hung like a pillar from the Ceiling down to the floor. I can go from the inside of the garrison right to the outside over the roof of the house the snow having formed a Bridge roof clear over and the snow is packed so hard that you can walk over I believe a horse can almost walk over, it is so solid. . . .

Sunday April 10th 1864

. . . reports say that there are a very large lot of Boats coming up the Missouri river this summer with Emigrants for the gold Mines besides some Eight Government Boats so I guess we will see the half of the People in the United States up here. . . .

June 7th 1864

Boats are plenty up this River this summer Two more arrived yesterday they are Stopping here until more arrive they have Wisconsin troops on board. . . . There is one of the best Violin Players here, belonging to one of the Wis. companies that I ever heard with the exception of "Ole Bull." . . .

There are about Two Hundred Lodges of Indians here at present, and one Hundred and Eighty more are expected in soon another Boat has just

¹²⁰ Men who re-enlisted, before their three-year term was up, were known as "veterans" and were given a thirty-day furlough.

come in sight Just Imagine what a buisy place we have here now Boats every Day

There are over Two Hundred Lodges here now. They generally come in when they know that their annuity goods are on hands. they are very Friendly now. . . .

June 10th 1864

. . . if we go on this Expedition¹²¹ you must not expect a letter from me, until I get back, as I do not think there will be much of an Opportunity for Sending or Receiving either. . . .

Sat. 11th 1864

another Boat arrived yesterday, and two this Morning in sight. the Gen'l and the Expedition will be up next week. . . . Four Months and 12 Days more will end my Slavery and Send me home to you Lord willing. . . .

[Wieneke Diary]

June 10 Steamer Glasgow arrived here this P M with Co. A 30th Wis and Colonel Hill & staff on board. . . .

Friday June 17 Cos K & M and the Bal of our Co arrived this M. . . .

Sunday June 26th Started from camp No 14 at 3 Oclock this am and traveled until One Oclock P M encamped on Okoboji Creek Twenty Three miles from Ft Sully had to do our cooking here with Buffalo Chips Eleven

¹²¹ The 1864 campaign against the Sioux was planned by Pope, Sibley, and Sully at a meeting in February, 1864, at Milwaukee. The population along the Missouri was increasing, and that, coupled with the "gold rush" to the Salmon River in northern Utah, made it necessary for the government to protect the settlers and miners. Sully was placed in command of the 1st Brigade of the expedition made up of the 6th Iowa Cavalry; 7th Iowa Cavalry; Brackett's Battalion of Minnesota Cavalry; 30th Wisconsin Infantry; 1st Battalion Dakota Cavalry; and the Prairie Battery. The 2nd Brigade, under Sibley, consisted of the 8th Minnesota Infantry (mounted); 2nd Minnesota Cavalry; 3rd Minnesota Artillery; and one company of about 70 scouts. This totaled about 2,200 men, 106 wagons, and 12 ambulances. Pope planned to build 4 forts, but only two were built — Fort Rice on the Missouri, on the site of Bismarck, North Dakota; and Fort Wadsworth on the James River. The expedition was known as the "Northwestern Indian Expedition," but is more commonly known as "Sully's Expedition." The Minnesota troops left Fort Ridgely on June 5 and on June 28 met Sully on the Missouri, where Fort Rice was built. *Official Records*, Vol. XLI, Part I, 131-74; Drips, *Three Years Among the Indians*, 66-73; Lieut. David L. Kingsbury, "Sully's Expedition Against the Sioux in 1864," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, 8:449-52 (1898). Wieneke's diary as revised for publication in the *JOURNAL* in 1922 is much more detailed for the following dates, evidently having been elaborated and expanded at a later date. Only the original diary is used here. See "Iowa Troops in the Sully Campaigns," 368-74.

Cos of 6th Ia One Battallion of Min Two Cos Dakota troops and Three Co our Regt and the Prarie Battery forming the 1st Brigade are encamped here grass scarce except in the creek Bottom. . . .

Tuesday June 28th marched 18 miles and Camped on Little Sheyen were on the advance guard today Just as we came in sight of Camp three Indians fired on our scouts & guide and shot Capt. [Feilner] Topographical Engineer of the Expedition shooting him through the right arm and the Chest he died in about Two hours the first Platoon of our Co was ordered to follow them and kill them but we were put on the wrong track and missed them the Dakota Boys were more fortunate over took them and killed all three of them Genl Sully ordered their heads to be cut off and brot to camp and stuck on poles which was done as a warning to all other Indians¹²²

Wednesday June 29 marched at Four one of the teamsters was thrown from the wagon and run over by it having his ribs mashed in we stopped off two hours to have him dressed. After staying here about Two [hours] we turned out W. N. W. and camped on one of the outlets of Swan lake

¹²² Drips reports this incident as follows: "June 28 . . . Capt Feelinger [sic. John Feilner] of the regular army, who was appointed topographical engineer of the expedition, was in front of the advance guard hunting specimens. He was fired on by three Indians who immediately fled. Capt. Miner's company of Dakota Cavalry, which was on the advance, saw the Indians and started in pursuit. The scouts also, under Frank La Fromboy [sic], were after them but I guess would have let them escape had it not been for Capt. Miner's men, who are Indian hunters, and Indian haters, too. They followed them up and succeeded in killing all three of the Indians without losing a man. They came in and reported to Gen. Sully about the time Capt. Feelinger died. The General started a party out with orders to bring in the Indians' heads. This was done and then he ordered them stuck upon poles to warn other Indians." Drips, *Three Years Among the Indians*, 69-70. Robinson reports the same incident: "While proceeding on this trip, at the crossing of the Little Cheyenne in Potter county, South Dakota, a naturalist accompanying the expedition, named Feilner, was killed by two Indians who were ambushed in a clump of bushes near the stream. They were at once pursued by a squad of the Dakota cavalry under Captain Miner, and after a run of fifteen miles were overtaken and killed. General Sully ordered that their heads be mounted upon high poles as a warning to all Indians of the fate that awaited them if they committed murders of white people. . . . Nothing that had yet occurred since the beginning of the outbreak had made so powerful an impression upon the Indian mind as this act of barbarity upon the part of General Sully. The Dakotas now came to the conclusion that they were doomed. . . . The story of the beheading of the warriors at the Little Cheyenne flew as upon the wings of the wind to every Dakota camp from the Oglalas on the Platte to those in farthest Canada. In hot haste the remnant of the Santees and the Yanktonais bands bundled off to the Bad Lands, where white men, it was said, could not come." Robinson, "History of the Sioux Indians," 330.

within about six miles of the river where the Expedition Boats are laying awaiting orders. sent up Rockets this Eve as signal to the Minnesota Brigade which was to meet us here. . . .

July 2nd 1864 Still in camp Colonel Thomas arrived Day before yesterday.¹²³ . . .

[Wieneke letter to wife]

Camp No 24 Ft Rice D. T.

July 16th 1864

I can still scribble a few Lines before I leave here reports say we leave tomorrow and as tomorrow is sunday I suppose it is so we have made every start on sunday since the beginning of the Expedition. I suppose if we were to meet a large force of Indians we would wait until sunday before we attack them. we left Fort Sully on sunday laid over in camp until sunday, started on sunday, stopped at swan Lake and left there on sunday, crossed the Muddy on sunday and I suppose will leave here on sunday. they have one house partly up at the new fort already and a lot of hay made too

there are only about Sixty of our Company going with us the Ballance are on Duty and sick. we have Twelve sick here among whom is Sargt Pumphry he will stay here in the 30th Wis Hospital. one of the Scouts of our Brigade was sleightly wounded Day before yesterday he was attacked by Six Indians. Two balls were fired at him and Four Arrows, only one Ball grazing him Two Companies were sent out yesterday to scour the Country but found no Indians.

an amusing anecdote is told of some of the scouts the other day six of them were about Ten miles away and Two Elk started in a small thicket the scouts thought they were Indians and started for camp the Elk seeing them run took after them curious to know what they were. the scouts more scared than ever kept on until they brought up on the river Bank and would have gone across the River but for the bank being very steep and some of the guides coming up and telling them what it was after them. the guides at the same time shooting one of the Elk. on last Wednesday there were Eighteen Buffalo killed inside of the Picket Lines, within one mile of the Camp fires. . . . I do not think that we will go farther than to the yellowstone

¹²³ This was the brigade of troops from Minnesota, under command of Col. Minor T. Thomas of the 8th Minnesota. Roddis, *Indian Wars of Minnesota*, 247.

river about Six days more travel and from there I think we will turn back and make for Sioux City, and then hurah for home, and goodbye to the army, and soldiering. I could get to stay here with the 30th Wis. as Music instructor but I do not want to. I had rather march every day than stay in camp. the Colonel of the 30th Wis offered me Forty Dollars per month if I would stay here as leader of the Band after my time is out but I want to see my Dear family and I am confidant you will say I am right. . . .

Sunday July 17th 1864

Still in camp instead of Marching today we had a General Parade all of the troops in the Command were reviewed it took just 48 minits for both Brigades to pass before the General our Co was not out as they were on picket Guard and I was glad too as it was a hot job hot enough standing and looking on without having to march through the dust. rumors say now that we will start tomorrow. I hope so as I had rather be on the March than laying in camp. . . .

[Wieneke Diary]

July 19th Started and marched 18 m Camped on Cannon Ball Riv. . . .

No 30 Heart River sunday July 24th Day hot Marched North 25 miles camped in a dog town. water of this stream is good but all quicksand

No 30 July 25th monday Still in camp cooking and preparing for a scout the wagons all to be left here, mules packed and Two Days Rations in Haversacks one wagon to every two Companies

Tuesday No 31 knife River July 26 Marched at noon made 24 miles lay on our arms all night the Neb Scouts had a skirmish with about 50 Indians had 2 horses killed

No 32 Wednesday July 27 Started at 3 Oclock this am traveled 56 Miles & Camped on the Knife River the first half of the road was very good for this Country the last half was very broken. am very tired this Eve as I had to sleep on my saddle last night and watch my horse and did not get more than Two hours sleep am at present sitting on a rock on the summit of a bluff about Two hundred feet above the level of the camp

Thursday July 28 a great day traveled about 34 miles and came in sight of a high range of Bluffs when the guides came running in and we all knew that the Indians were at last in view we were ordered to the front with our Battallion, and after riding some Two miles were dismounted and

formed as skirmishers I was detailed as Colonels Orderlie we marched about Four miles when the Indians appear[ed] in small squads all along our front riding along showing some very good horsemanship and defying us to come on Shots were soon fired at them all along the front which made the red skins skeedaddle out of sight after about Five hours fighting the Indians were all out of Sight, and we camped on the Battlefield.¹²⁴ . . .

Tuesday July 29 started at Four marched about Six miles W. and then turned and came back to the Battlefield and Companies commenced burning up every thing the Indians left which took them about Ten hours they also Killed Ten more Indians that were found in the brush. at 4 Oclock Marched out to the East Side of the Battleground where we form[ed] and Camped just at sunset or dusk as the men were getting in their horses the pickets began firing and falling back followed by Indians. Two of the pickets were wounded and two Killed or missing ordered to lay on our arms all night in front of the Genl's Tent. . . .

Sat July 30 Marched 36 Miles the Bodies of the Two Piquets were found this A. M. Each had about Ten or Twelve arrows in it one of the Sargts of Co C 6th Ia was shot by the Piquets they mistaking him for an Indian.

[Letter from John Pattee to his wife, in *Iowa City Republican*, Sept. 14, 1864.]

Camp No. 36, on Heart River,
August 2d, 1864

DEAR WIFE: You last heard from me at Ft. White. Since then, or since leaving there, we have made twelve long and weary marches, many times not taking off our saddles more than four hours in twenty-four, and then laying down in the prairie without blankets, to get a half hour's sleep at a time. When we arrived here, we left nearly all the train and all the Idaho train¹²⁵ and started north west, and in five and a half days made 160 miles,

¹²⁴ This battle occurred at a chain of mountains called the Tahkahoukutty or Kill Deer Mountains, near the Knife River. See Drips, *Three Years Among the Indians*, 77-9; Roddis, *Indian Wars of Minnesota*, 249-50; Sully's report in *Official Records*, Vol. XLI, Part I, 142-3; Kingsbury, "Sully's Campaign Against the Sioux in 1864," 453-5; Nathaniel Pope, "General Sully's Expedition of 1864 Against the Sioux," *Contributions to the Montana Historical Society*, 2:329-30 (1896); "General Alfred Sully's Expedition of 1864. . . . From the Diary of Judge Nicholas Hilger," *ibid.*, 323-5.

¹²⁵ A train of emigrants for the Utah gold fields traveled with Sully. *Official Records*, Vol. XLI, Part I, 141-2.

and fought six or seven thousand Indians for six hours, and marching on foot during the fight, with the thermometer at about 96 de. *My men behaved most splendidly*, and fired the first gun, and, thank God, not one of them hurt. The Indians selected the best ground for the fight I ever saw. They met us in the open prairie, and fell back into a long and extensive cluster of wooded hills, where twenty thousand men could not have pursued them, without losing one half of the number. The next day after the fight, we remained on the ground till 3 P. M., burning their property — 1600 lodges, buffaloes without number, &c. John and I were both sick in ambulances when the guides came and met us, reported the Indians in front about ten miles, but took our horses and remained with the troops till going into camp at dark. I was without food for twenty hours. At 3 P. M. on the 29th (the battle was on the 28th), we started back, and were attacked by the Indians just after going into camp, and lost two men. Our total loss is five killed and six or seven wounded. Two days brought us to this camp. To-day we are resting, and start in the morning for a point on the Yellow Stone, and expect to fall in again with the same Indians with our whole force and train, when we will fight them as long as we can find them. We killed about 80. They were so scattered, we could do but little — they spreading out and surrounding us entirely. Their line was at least nine miles long. There must have been 25,000 men, women and children in the camp. I saw Jonathan shoot one Indian through the heart. They all fought with only one article of clothing on them.

JOHN PATTEE

[Wieneke Diary]

Sunday July 31st marched 33 miles & camped on a Branch of heart River within one mile of the Corall teams all safe had a violent hail storm this A. M. and rain all Evening. . . .

Sunday Aug 7th Six Co started out to build road ahead Co L was placed as picket on the Bluffs on each side of the workmen 7 Ind stampeded a Co of horses this A M, got away with 2 returned to camp on Little Mo Four miles from last camp as Capt Coopers Co were coming in from the Bluffs they being the last Co they were attacked by In-

dians they turned on them and fired several volleys into them with good effect and dispersing them¹²⁶

Monday Aug 8 the 2nd Brig started out at daylight and were attacked by Indians on the bluffs about Two miles from the Camp I could hear very heavy firing in the bluffs both of musketry & Canons traveled about Ten miles fighting all of the time part of our men were dep[loyed] as skirmishers and had a pretty exciting fight just before going to Camp

Tuesday Aug 9th 64 still fighting this A. M. and kept up until noon when the Country through which we were passing becoming more open and level they cleared out we passed a place where their families passed the last night the camp had covered about 1½ square mile and looked as though it might have had about Eight thousand Ponies in it and about Three thousand Lodges this P M the Indians all left us and tonight all is quiet.

Yellow Stone Idaho Ter Friday Aug 12 1864 started at 11 Oclock & traveled 15 miles to the East bank of the Yellowstone river this is a very nice stream of water high gravel banks Two Boats here the Alone & C'falls¹²⁷ all we lack here to make it a good camp is grass the land is as bare of grass as any desert can be plenty of Cactus

Sat Aug 13th 1864 in Camp this A. M. crossed the River this P. M. forded with horses & wag[ons] took the Baggage across on Boats

Sunday Aug 14 64 troops crossing all night and this A M started at Two and traveled 28 Miles good camp plenty of grass Killed a Buffalo right in camp. Two men were drowned in the river last night crossing it some Eight wagons were lost.¹²⁸ . . .

¹²⁶ For a few days the troops were going through the Bad Lands, rough and mountainous country, where the Indians could attack from the heights. Because of the presence of the emigrant train, Sully had to travel slowly, often strung out several miles, going through deep ravines and gorges. When they reached level country the Indians disappeared. Sully was trying to reach the Yellowstone River by the shortest route, because his supply of rations was down to about six days. He expected boats to meet him on the Yellowstone, with supplies. See Sully's letter of Aug. 13, 1864, in *ibid.*, 144-7. For a vivid description of the Bad Lands, which Sully called "hell burnt out," see "Diary of Judge Nicholas Hilger," 315-20. Hilger was a member of the emigrant train traveling with the soldiers.

¹²⁷ The boats that met Sully here were the *Alone* and the *Chippewa Falls*, both light-draft stern-wheel steamers. Each had about fifty tons of freight, but little corn. A third boat, the *Island City*, carrying nearly all the corn for the horses, had struck a snag near Fort Union and had sunk. *Official Records*, Vol. XLI, Part I, 147.

¹²⁸ Sully reported one man drowned and two wagons lost. He was now crossing the Yellowstone, preparatory to the return march. *Ibid.*, 148.

[Wieneke letter to wife]

Yellow Stone River

Camp No 44 Idaho Ter

Aug 16th 1864

Dearest Wife. at last I have an opportunity of in a few days sending you a letter so I have taken advantage or rather am taking advantage of a Day in camp to scribble a letter to you. I have never enjoyed better health in my life than at present. most of the Boys with us are well some of them were sick during the Indian fighting but the most of our Boys stood right up to the work and never flinched. our first "bout" with the Indians took place on the 28th Day of July at the Foot of Kill Deer Mountains the fight begun at Twelve O'clock A. M. and lasted until Four P M we drove the redskins about Eight Miles killed One hundred & Twelve Indians that we counted and the Indians carried off as many more I think we were most of the next day burning up their Lodges and dried meat and other things that they had hid in the wood & Brush the next night they "the Indians" tried to stampede our horses killing Two of our Piquettes before we could drive them away our next fight occurred on the 7th 8th & 9th of August Commencing on the Evening of the 7th and lasting through the next Two Days we marching all of the time and the redskins keeping in the ravines and on the bluffs all around us all of the time but very few of our men were hurt as they very seldom came near enough to hurt us but we being able to reach them with our long range guns and Cannon most of the time how many we killed I do not know I see a number of Dead Indians in hollows as I was riding along being Colonels orderlie one day, and carrying orders from the General to him, the Colonel. There were at least Three thousand Indians in the first fight and about Four thousand in the second. on the 13th Inst we forded the yellow stone River with our horses & wagons the saddles & Baggage being crossed on Two steam Boats Two men were drowned while crossing and six wagons lost. we are now within 15 miles of Fort Union which fort is on the Missouri river where we go to from here I do not know but I think we will go toward America I guess our Indian fighting is over as they got so badly drubbed that they will not let us get at them again it is more fun to fight Indians they cannot do anything against our drilled troops with our arms besides that they are too great a set of Cowards to come up to us. . . .

[Wieneke Diary]

W Aug 17th Camp 45 Started at 6½ and traveled 12 miles to the River opposite Ft Union¹²⁹ here we lay all day waiting for the Train to Cross German McCardell¹³⁰ was drowned here last night.

Thursday Camp 46 Aug 18th 1864 Crossed the river in lighter about Four Oclock the Fort has been the best one built on the river that I have seen but is badly weather beat[en]

Friday Aug 19th 1864 moved this A M about Four miles below Ft Union to where we could get grass camped in front of the remains of old Ft Stevenson an old doughby [adobe] fir post¹³¹ orders arrived to march about Five miles down the river Started at One Oclock arrived on a very nice flat with plenty of grass Co B Dakota joined us here. . . .

Friday Sept 9th 1864 Started at 7½ traveled 5 miles to the old camp opposite Ft Rice where a detail was ordered to go for the mail I went as one went to the ferry landing and left our horses there crossed the river and staged [?] through the camp and fort which is all up and the stone houses roofed the quarters for the troops are not roofed yet it will be the best Fort on the River when it is finished recd the news here that Capt Fisks Emigrant train was attacked by Indians and surrounded and that they were to be released by troops from our Command returned to Command at 2 P M with 2 sacks mail for our Battallion. orders recd for one hundred men to go from our Battallion to march on foot.¹³² I was one of the lucky ones to be left behind. . . .

¹²⁹ Fort Union, near the confluence of the Missouri and the Yellowstone, was an old post, one of the first built by the American Fur Company. *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 1:351-2; Kingsbury, "Sully's Expedition Against the Sioux in 1864," 460.

¹³⁰ German McCardle of Iowa City, private, Co. L, 7th Iowa Cavalry. *Roster and Record*, 4:1334.

¹³¹ Drips refers to this as Fort William, which is probably correct. See Drips, *Three Years Among the Indians*, 87. Fort William was built in 1833 and named for the fur trader, William Sublette. Originally built of wood, later of sun-dried brick or adobe, the post had been abandoned. Later Fort Buford was built on this site. Coues (ed.), *Forty Years a Fur Trader*, 1:51-3n.

¹³² A Captain James L. Fisk had brought some eighty emigrant wagons from Minnesota to Fort Rice, but not in time to join Sully on his expedition. He was warned not to proceed alone, but ignored the warnings and set out with a cavalry escort of a lieutenant and 50 men, furnished by Col. Daniel J. Dill, 30th Wisconsin, contrary to Sully's orders. When Sully reached Fort Rice, on his return trip, he found that the lieutenant had returned with word that Fisk was corraled some 200 miles west, under attack by Indians. Sully was disgusted — if the Indians destroyed the train,

Tuesday Sept. 27th 64 . . . news from the Fisk Expedition arrived this P M they are on their way back were only 70 miles from here yesterday Morn when the Messengers left them. . . .

Sat Oct 1st started at sun rise marched 4 miles to Beaver Cr where we stopped to get up wood for our nights supply started on and traveled to our old Camp No 20 on Blue blanket creek got in here at 7½ oclock so dark that we could not see the Company in advance of ours. Capt. Stivers Co was sent out to the Goose Lake to get some Indians that were there He brought eight of them in and Genl made a treaty with them they are Two Bear and his camp and Band consisting of 60 or 70 lodges they say they are going to Red river of the N[orth]. . . .

Thursday 13th Oct 1864 arrived at Ft Randall or at the Boat landing weather has been fine wind blowing hard today

Thursday Oct 20 arrived at and crossed the big Sioux river Yester Eve Genl sent orders for us to recross this Morn which we did in a very respectable snowstorm we moved about 2 miles down the river to the lower ferry landing and Encamped in the wood Stormy all day Colonel pattee and the men on the Boats all came over to Camp today

[Here the Wieneke diary ends. On November 9, 1864, the following notice appeared in the *Iowa City Republican*.]

RETURN OF SOLDIERS — Some thirty of our soldiers from Ft. Randall who have served out their full term of three years, have been discharged and returned home, most of them in time to vote last Tuesday. They have had hard service and but little chance to win glory. But they are welcome home and are entitled to the thanks of their countrymen for their long service.

their increased self-confidence would spoil Sully's plans for peace treaties with them. However, he sent Col. Dill with 300 of the 30th Wisconsin, 200 of the 8th Minnesota, and 100 of the 7th Iowa Cavalry to Fisk's rescue. On reaching the besieged train, Dill found that the Indians had withdrawn and that Fisk was trying to get the train to proceed into the Bad Lands where, strung out in the hills and gorges, they would have been an easy prey for the waiting Indians. Dill insisted that the train return to Fort Rice with him; after some arguing, Fisk gave in and accompanied the train back to the safety of the Fort. *Official Records*, Vol. XLI, Part I, 151-3 (Sully's report), 795-6 (Dill's report); Drips, *Three Years Among the Indians*, 97-8; "Expeditions of Capt. Jas. L. Fisk to the Gold Mines of Idaho and Montana, 1864-1866," *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, 2:421-42 (1908).

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

The State Historical Society added 208 new members during January, February, and March, 1959. During those months the following members became Life Members: W. O. Aydelotte, Iowa City; Norma Roth, Bettendorf; J. N. Milroy, Vinton; Russell O. Lamson, Waterloo; M. A. Hanson, Boise, Idaho; and Mildred Rasmus, Evanston, Illinois.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| January 12 | Attended Iowa Wesleyan Associates Dinner at Mount Pleasant. |
| January 15 | Attended inauguration of Governor Herschel Loveless. |
| February 20 | Addressed Daughters of the American Revolution at their annual guest day dinner at Washington, Iowa. |
| February 26 | Addressed Muscatine Men's Club. |
| March 25 | Spoke to legislators and friends of the Society at dinner given by Gregory Brunk at the Des Moines Club in Des Moines. |

Iowa Historical Activities

The city of Albia was incorporated on March 26, 1859. On June 24 to 27 this year Albia will hold a Centennial Celebration, commemorating this event.

At the annual meeting of the Marion County Historical Society the following officers were elected: C. B. Campbell, president; William Palmer, vice-president; Jack Belknap, curator, with a committee consisting of William Palmer and W. D. Campbell to assist him; W. C. Palmer, historical sites; Alberta Cobble, secretary; and Bess Huffman, treasurer.

Officers of the Marshall County Historical Society are: Brice W. Springer, president; J. R. Bradbury, vice-president; Mrs. Bess Jackson, secretary; Floyd Hancock, treasurer; and Mrs. Florence Belknap, curator. Directors elected to three-year terms were Arley Wilson, Mrs. Ruth Arney, and Bill Pegg.

The new officers of the Guthrie County Historical Society, elected at the January meeting, are Mrs. Jessie Batschelet, president; Joe Warren, vice-president; and Gladys Kastner, secretary-treasurer.

The Dubuque Recreation Commission has offered the Dubuque County Historical Society the vacant clubhouse at the Bunker Hill Municipal Golf Course for an historical museum.

The American Association for State and Local History voted Pella an Award of Merit for the famous Pella Tulip Festival.

The 37th annual Conference of History was held at the State University of Iowa April 3-4, 1959. Papers on historical subjects were read by Alan Simpson of the University of Chicago, Robert F. Byrnes of Indiana University, Joseph F. Wall of Grinnell College, and Jack Allen of the George Peabody College for Teachers.

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COVER

"Montauk," the home of Governor William Larrabee in Clermont, Iowa.

THE BURLINGTON, IOWA, APPRENTICESHIP OF THE KANSAS POET EUGENE FITCH WARE, "IRONQUILL"

*By James C. Malin**

Three states, Connecticut, Iowa, and Kansas, share in the production of Eugene Fitch Ware, the man who became best known as "Ironquill," and only to a lesser degree as "The Philosopher of Paint Creek," a maker of rhymes — possibly, a poet. By profession he was a lawyer. Before settling definitely into that classification, however, he had had several quite successful short bouts with journalism. He did not escape politics altogether. Associated with Fort Scott, Kansas, 1867-1893, Ware joined one of the major law firms of the state, Gleed, Ware, and Gleed, and moved to Topeka in 1893. President Theodore Roosevelt selected him, in 1902, for sacrifice in the thankless position of Commissioner of Pensions, where he served until the end of 1904. Unlike some people of talent, Ware possessed a sense of humor which was sufficiently objective to keep himself in perspective — six feet tall, and six inches square at twenty, and a lot squarer later. But, at no time did "The Philosopher of Paint Creek" suffer from delusions of grandeur.

THE SOLDIER AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

The parents of Eugene Fitch Ware (1841-1911), Hiram Belcher Ware, and Amanda Melvina Holbrook, were married April 4, 1840, at Hartford, Connecticut. Both were representatives of seven generations of their respective families living continuously in New England. Their removal to Burlington, Iowa, a Mississippi River town, during the mid-1840's was the first break in the New England chain of Eugene's ancestry. In religion, the family tradition was Congregationalist. The occupational tradition was urban, that of skilled artisan, not New England farmer, the grandfather being a cooper, Hiram was a leather-worker, after a period as sailor, and

*James C. Malin is professor of history at the University of Kansas at Lawrence. This article is a condensation of two chapters of a projected book on Eugene Ware, a Kansas poet, lawyer, and politician, who spent his formative years in Burlington, Iowa.

Eugene served an apprenticeship in his father's trade. Eugene's formal education, acquired in the Burlington public schools and at the academy at Denmark, Iowa, included some Latin, Greek, and French, and German from a private tutor. More informal education was experience acquired in the literary societies then popular, and in the Burlington Zouaves, a military company. The Ware family read two New York papers, the *Weekly Tribune* and the *Independent*. Hiram Ware appears to have been an extremist on the slavery question, an inveterate inventor, but quite impractical. Amanda Ware followed many of the food fads of the day, but appears to have been practical. According to Eugene, her philosophy was: "Never look back. Don't worry over things you cannot help. Do your best and let the balance go."

Another aspect of Eugene's education was the fact that he grew up in a Mississippi River town, with its orientation on New Orleans, and with all the associations of that water connection with the outside world prior to the railroad age. If his reminiscences are reliable, one of the major formative influences upon small boys growing up in that environment was an ability to fight their way to social standing in a boys' world. His own skill in that department, he insisted, won him a place, at the age of nineteen, in Company E, the Burlington company of the First Iowa Volunteer Infantry, a ninety-day regiment that fought through the summer of 1861 in southwestern Missouri. Returned belatedly to Burlington, August 31, after mustering out at St. Louis, Ware soon re-enlisted in the Fourth Iowa Cavalry, and in the latter part of 1863 was transferred as a commissioned officer to the Seventh Iowa Cavalry, which patrolled the upper Platte route to the Rocky Mountains and kept the telegraph to Denver in operation. The regiment was assigned to Fort Leavenworth in the spring of 1865. During the summer of the same year, Ware was on a special mission on account of the Indian troubles in the vicinity of Fort Smith, crossing twice southeastern Kansas, the country with which his later life was to be so closely associated. The regiment was mustered out at Fort Leavenworth, Eugene Ware, Captain, May 17, 1866.¹

With a birthday anniversary coming up May 29, the period of his

¹ The principal source for Ware's early life is his book, *The Lyon Campaign in Missouri. Being a History of the First Iowa Infantry* (Topeka, Kansas, 1909); his Great Plains experience is in his book *The Indian War of 1864* (Topeka, Kansas, 1911).

military service, five full years, included his twentieth through his twenty-fourth years. At twenty-five he was returning to civilian life and a decision about a vocation in a peacetime world. He could resume the harness business as a skilled artisan, starting at the bottom, a relatively mature man, but with no experience in civilian responsibilities appropriate to his age. Yet, as an army officer, he had been accustomed to carry rather heavy responsibilities of a military character — in directing the activities of other men in the army way.

The American Civil War was a profound experience for the generation of young people who participated. Four years of hostilities subjected an uncommonly large proportion of that age group to a remarkably uniform indoctrination in the few simple emotional precepts upon which war propaganda focused. Since it was a civil war, many of these generalizations involved issues of morals and loyalty, and were applied with intolerance.

The Union veterans returned to a civilian world that was being transformed physically by science and technology — a society being mechanized by steam, steel, and science — and reconstituted intellectually and spiritually by these same forces. If these latter aspects were not momentous for all during the latter part of the decade of the 1860's, at any rate they were for those endowed with a capacity to think and act independently, and they were potentially a challenge more fundamental than the war itself.

The American Civil War was a war of national unification comparable to the wars of national unification of Germany and Italy during the decade of the 1860's. For all three unified nation states the task of the generation following these wars was the consolidation into centralized power of the results of the victory on the battlefields. Whether or not these consequences were good or bad, they were inescapable facts. Similarly, the science, technology, philosophy, and theology that were transforming and reconstituting the society and culture of the United States had their origins in Europe, particularly in Great Britain and in Germany.

The conventional evaluation of the Civil War stressed the moral aspect of abolition of slavery and the patriotism that preserved the Union. Yet both the downfall of slavery and centralization of political power at Washington were in the making without the war. In many respects the war confused rather than solved the real issues involved in those associations. The bitter political controversies about the Negro and about reconstruction of the South, in the form made so familiar to readers of conventional United States

history, were used conspicuously as excuses, not reasons, for measures looking to the centralization of government and of all other aspects of power in society as well.

The first four lines from an unidentified Burlington poem, under the title of "History," were eminently correct:

The fate of nations, like a mighty sea,
Is full of hidden whirlpools, rocks and graves,
And he is blind that in their destiny
Sees but the conflict of the wind and waves.²

That something of the broader view of the significance of reconstruction after the American Civil War and the parallel European wars of national unification was shared in Burlington, Iowa, itself will come out in its proper place.

BURLINGTON TAKES NOTICE

To what kind of Burlington was Captain Ware returning? The editor of the *Hawk-Eye*, May 2, 1866, thought that there was "a great deal of philosophy for these times in the following: 'A man is apt to think that his personal freedom involves the right to make his fellow men do just as he pleases.'" Possibly that was not irrelevant in a nation "preserved" by "blood and iron." Nor was the Lincoln Legend to be ignored. It was already in the making. The *Des Moines Register* had suggested that Lincoln's birthday be celebrated as a national holiday. The *Hawk-Eye*, February 10, 1866, had approved: If Washington's birthday, why not Lincoln's — "the Father of this country," and "the Preserver of his nation."

The city of Burlington was still agitating the improvement of the Public Square which continued "a disgrace to the city." The young men were interested in a library association, organized in January, 1866, which rented rooms and started a collection of books: "Our city has long felt the need of this moral engine, and its absence has given room for the introduction of evil influences which have been productive of great harm and hindrance to the moral culture and intellectual development of the young men of the community." Support was solicited for the Young Men's Library Association. The reading room was ready for visitors in April. For reasons not explained, the president and vice-president resigned in June and new officers were chosen.³

² Burlington *Daily Hawk-Eye*, Jan. 5, 1866. (Hereafter cited as *Hawk-Eye*.)

³ *Hawk-Eye*, Jan. 31, Feb. 27, 28, Mar. 15, Apr. 12, 28, June 28, 1866.

Ware's return from Fort Leavenworth to Burlington, following his discharge from military service, May 17, 1866, was not recorded in the local press. Burlington had its share of local poets, but one wonders about "Sunday Evening" whose opening stanza follows:

Sometimes in looking at our life,
We catch its goodly purpose gleam,
But ere we read the meaning well,
It fades, and all again is dream.⁴

And then came a dialect "poem" whose originality, imagery, and language suggest the possibility that it was Captain Ware's creation inspired by his return to the River Town —

Owed to Ye River

O magnyfishent stream! Thou art
The biggest peace of water hereabouts
Vizzible to the naked eye of man!
Day in, day out, thou keepest a goin by,
Porin thy mity torrent into the gulph,
Up an down an roun thy hevin buzem, ships
With wheals and paddels go a salin,
And gease, an little gease, (which air goslins)
An little boys (which air not) go swimmin
In thy most placid wave!

O mity crick!

Thou are older than the oldest citizen
Of Burlington, or any other man, —
Thy billoes have been a bulgin here
For sentoorys past, an in thy vast deap,
Fishes, both big an small, hev growed, an lived,
An carried on thair scaly bizness, an tadpoals
Devellupt into the ufoneus phrog!
Thou are wider'n a man cood reach acrost
In a hole year. Thou are also very
Useful. Dogs an cats an cattle stop to drink
At the edge, an go aweigh smilin an happy,
An men dip barrels full, an buckits full,
To wash thair darty close, or sprinkle
The dusty streets. Men, an wimmin, an children
Shall speak a blessin for thee. An at nite —
Pray 'scuse me if I ventur here a little

⁴ *Ibid.*, July 1, 1866.

To gro enthooziastikie — at nite,
 When the transpicuous kanopy, the mune,
 An stars, an plannits, Mercury, an Venus,
 (Which was a woman wunst and loved a yuth,)
 An Marz and Komits, with brite caudalities
 Kum shinin in thair sweet yung bashfulness,
 (All cept the mune, which is not greatly yung,)
 Old river how they rejoovinate thy sole!
 Thair silvery beams slide greasily down
 Into thy glidin waters, and go playin
 At hide an seek with mermades
 An the other mades that live among
 The mussel shells, (akordin to phabel,
 Which is not strictly troo.) Then, sumtimes,
 The yung fokes take thair botes, an sail,
 As tis a most convenyent time to talk
 All kinds of nonsense, muneshine, stars,
 An sich — an they go a singin round,
 But not to be compaired, in the musikle line,
 With the elegant dyapazzins of the Phrog,
 (Which last, concerning it, we spoke of before,)
 That charms the mermades an mermisses,
 An acts in the kapassity of ole Neptoon.
 Mississippi, farewell! Feelins deep
 Crowd on us fast — too deep, too fast to utter;
 Keep a glidin on — don't stop because of us,
 We wouldent detain thee for a minnit,
 From enny of thy lawful biznesses,
 Or else the people of the Crescent City
 Wood hev no water to mix with thair whiskey.
 Which wer a grevus loss.

River, farewell!⁵

The first explicit reference in the *Hawk-Eye* to Captain Ware's presence in Burlington was concerned with his public initiation into the intellectual and educational activities of the city. A "Card" addressed to Ware, dated September 8, 1866, signed by five names in behalf of several others requested him to lecture "on the manners and customs of the red men of the far West." The reasoning upon which the invitation was based is of interest: "As this is a period of our national existence when the matters of a public nature are of the greatest moment and interest, and when we are ap-

⁵ *Ibid.*, July 7, 1866.

parently on the eve of having trouble with the aborigines of the continent," such information was desirable. Aware of his tour of duty of more than a year on the upper Platte River, the card continued: "We make this request, knowing as we do, your great ability, and long experience on the frontier, among the different tribes." What a difference in qualifications was registered here, compared with the teenager of 1861 whose distinction lay in his skill with his fists. Two days later, Ware accepted the invitation, which was "unexpected," — "I will deliver a few remarks in that feeble manner which will be so in consonance with the insignificance of the subject." The time and place set were Mozart Hall, September 14, the admission charge was 25 cents, the proceeds to go to the YMLA. Further advertising emphasized his experience as Captain in the Seventh Iowa Cavalry, and "his originality of thought, [which] leads his friends to anticipate a rich treat in this his first literary effort." Of course, such a designation of "first literary effort" ignored his participation in the prewar school and literary society exercises.

In reporting on the lecture, the critic first emphasized his own background as a qualification for his evaluation — the reading of "John Jewett's narrative of the Indians on the western coast, Longfellow's *Hiawatha*, and many Indian stories and legends, but we were highly entertained with the Captain's address. His illustration of Indian dialect, habits of life, mode of warfare, courtship, &c., all done [*sic*] credit to the speaker. We hope the YMLA will call him out again."⁶

The YMLA had as its second lecturer, October 2, the poet-humorist John G. Saxe, and invited a local personage for the third in the series, but the candidate declined. A correspondent signing himself "Amuccus" begged the man to reconsider: "The course of home lectures so auspiciously opened by the admirable address of Capt. Eugene Ware, we all hoped would be continued by our other talented young men, and thus keep up an interest that Capt. W. has so generally awakened." Even the public solicitation failed, however, and Captain Ware was prevailed upon to give a second lecture: "the subject to be 'Nothing.' We need not urge our readers to attend, as the mere announcement will be sufficient to fill the hall." The *Hawk-Eye* complimented Captain Ware for his acceptance of the invitation to deliver a second lecture and urged the public to respond and thus encourage others to fall in line, and to provide the city with a series "such as no other city has

⁶ *Ibid.*, Sept. 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 1866. On account of a mix-up in Mozart Hall engagements, the lecture had been postponed one day.

had, furnished by young men of talent from its own midst. . . . show that it honors its own sons, who are as gifted as those in a 'down East' town, or anywhere else." The proceeds from this lecture were to go to the "Ladies Parsonage Society of the Division ME church," and following this announcement came the argument: "This will induce a larger attendance of those of the more utilitarian school, who look to the good rather than the pleasure which grows from these entertainments." The Sunday morning *Hawk-Eye*, October 21, teased curiosity: "Nothing. — If you wish to know all about it, go and hear Captain Ware to-morrow evening at Mozart Hall." Tuesday's paper, after the event, evaded the real issue by resort to the threadbare formula: "A small but highly intelligent audience" heard Captain Ware's lecture on "Nothing." "The subject of his carefully prepared manuscript occasioned surprise to his audience, as he proceeded gradually to unfold the theory of the indestructibility of force and the fact that there is no such thing as 'Nothing.'" Obviously the critic was not overflowing with enthusiasm, for he concluded: "Viewed as a dissertation upon a scientific subject, it could not but interest all thinkers upon scientific subjects."⁷

Ware had delivered both the first and the last of the home lectures — Indians and science. But regardless of the lack of interest in Burlington about science, the lecture on "Nothing" was of some importance to the record of the course of Ware's education. Unfortunately, the reporter did not elaborate on the content of the lecture, leaving the historian under the necessity of speculating in the most general terms about the probabilities. Although not altogether new, the theory of the conservation of energy had received a fresh and significant restatement in 1848 in Germany by the youthful Hermann von Helmholtz. This gave it a new currency in all circles interested in the theoretical bases of science.⁸ Vague as the descriptions were, the conservation of energy and the atomic theory as they were being popularized in the two decades following 1848 probably furnished Captain Ware with his lecture material. Subsequent developments would appear to fall in with such an assumption.

WARE BREAKS INTO PRINT

With the next item, the historian is again on solid ground. The *Hawk-Eye*, November 10, 1866, contained the following paragraph in the "Locals"

⁷ *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 6, 16, 17, 19, 21, 23, 1866.

⁸ Howard and Valmi Gruber, "Hermann von Helmholtz: Nineteenth-Century Polymorph," *Scientific Monthly*, 83:92-9 (August, 1956).

column: "If the author of the semi-prosaic, semi-poetical, didactic and moral essay entitled 'The Lovist,' will furnish us his name his document will appear in print. Otherwise it goes to the repository of all anonymous communications — the scrap basket." The author of this peculiarly described piece overcame his timidity sufficiently to gratify the editor, and "The Lovist" was published, November 11, 1866, but without any identification of paternity. Had its author not later claimed it publicly as his brain-child, the piece would probably have remained as anonymous as hundreds of other such local "poems?" printed in the country's newspapers. It is Eugene Ware's first positively identified poetic production, thus far discovered by the present writer, to appear in print. The argument might even be advanced with a show of justice to the author that the "poem" should have remained an orphan. In that case, however, the historian would have been deprived of a document of no slight value to the study of the education of Eugene Ware. But here is the original *Hawk-Eye* version of the "poem":

The Lovist

Oh, Burlington! Oh Burlington,
A story I will tell,
About an in-di-vidu-al,
Who loved a maiden well.

More than that he adored, admired, worshipped, devoted, gloated and floated, over and around her: revered, revered, venerated, respected and honored her, and one of his favorite remarks was that he had her dear image frescoed on the purest pannel of his memory.

This fell-u-er, a letter wrote,
And sealed it with a seal,
To tell how feelingly toward
This maiden he did feel.

This letter partook of the nature of a billet doux, an epistle, note, "a very few lines," a communication, ode, apostrophe, sonnet, missive, sapphic, poem, lyric, a metrical address, a rhythmical versification, something like this:

He said, said he, it idle is
For me to ever start
To paint in one short idyl,
The idol of my heart.

He said she was his idol, ideal, doll, statue, grace, nymph, duck,

dearest, seraph, fairy, "his own," his maiden, young lady, youthful female and adolescent, juvenile, feminine charmer.

A carpenter of teeth was he,
A den-tist, and I'm told
That in his den, he often said,
That teeth were his "best hold."

He had an ether-ial way of getting them out; he yanked out widsom and eye teeth, snatched out cuspids and bicuspid, exterminated grinders, abruncated molars, and smollixed incisors, in short, his motto was "pro bono publico!" for the public's bones.

And when the miss, the missive read,
This maiden sentimental,
She said, said she, if he gets me
It will be acci-dental.

She went back, acidulated, passed, couldn't see it, throwed off, declined the proposal, desired to be excused, denied the soft impeachment, and contravened the declaration on the grounds that [the difference between?] a plug-ugly and an ugly "plugger" was very slight, and she accordingly "jerked" out the following:

"Who knows, but ere the orange blossoms wither on my wreath,
'What pre- and for-cepts you may throw
Into my very teeth."

This sarcasm, derisive remark, sneer, reproachful expression, satirical observation, scornful utterance, taunt, gibe, contemptuous reflection, scoff and disdainful declaration, had the following effect:

When this young man he heard of this,
He did begin to cry;
He stopped a drawing of a tooth,
And went and drew a sigh.

And as there was no chance of basking in the sunlight of her smile, nor to smile in the sunlight of her basquine, he said he had nary not no nothing more to live for.

He done took sick, and tried, alas,
To neutralize in vain
The pain he felt, by wrapping up
Within a counter-pane.

But it wouldn't work; he tried to die by an effort of mind, but his constitution was stronger than his will, so he got up and went down town, having for a while no "modus operandi" marked out, finally

He went and bought a dag-u-er
 And then to end his woes,
 He went and plunged it in his chest,
 Which was half full of clothes.

And then he went and got a pass,
 And took the evening train,
 For climes where golden fortunes are
 "Extracted without pain."

When Ware claimed this orphan publicly for the first time in the second edition of *Rhymes of Ironquill* (1889) it was not given a bath and a new suit of clothes, only its face was washed (it was still dirty behind the ears) and its clothes were patched here and there:

The Lovist
 A true story

Look here, you gentle reader,
 A story I must tell,
 About an individual
 Who loved a maiden well.

[He admired and adored her — doted and gloated and floated; one of his favorite observations was, that her dear image was frescoed on the skylight of his soul.]

He wrote one day a letter,
 And sealed it with a seal,
 To tell the girl how feelingly
 Towards her he did feel.

[This letter partook of the character of a rhythmical communication; it might have been called an ode, or an apostrophe, or a sonnet, or a piece of versified vacuity, or iambic inanity — but it wasn't poetry.]

The young man said — "It idle is
 For me to ever start
 To paint in one short idyl
 The idol of my heart."

[What the adolescent young maniac wanted to paint her for nobody will ever know. He called her his ideal, idol, doll, his fairy, seraph, duck, nymph, grace, and he showed other surface indications of having the old complaint in its most frightful form.]

A carpenter of teeth was he,
 A den-tist, and I'm told
 That in his den he often said
 That teeth were his "best hold."

[He was "bad" on eye teeth, yanked out cuspids and bicuspid, snatched out grinders, exterminated molars and abolished incisors without pain or delay. His motto was, "*pro bono publico*" — for the public's bones.]

But when the miss the miss-ive read,
 The maiden sentimental,
 She said, said she, "If he gets me,
 It will be acci-dental."

[She told this, in confidence, to a young lady friend, who put on her hood and rushed right off and told the young man, so as to make him feel happy. He asked the young lady to intercede for him. She did so, but the "charmer" simply responded:]

"Who knows, before the orange blossoms wither in my wreath,
 What irony and iron he
 My throw into my teeth?"

[The "mutual" friend saw that the embassy was a failure, and so she waited all the forenoon until her mother went out to saw some wood to get dinner with; then she skipped down to see the doctor and make him feel pleasant. She told him all, with usual embellishments — she not only gave him the "text," but also an elaborate appendix, with notes, index and glossary.]

And when the young man heard of it,
 He then began to cry;
 He stopped a-drawing of a tooth,
 And went and drew a sigh.

["Why," said he, "this sarcasm, this scornful utterance, this taunt, this sneer, this gibe? I have," said he, "nary — not — no — nothing to live for."]

He done took sick; he tried and tried
 To neutralize, in vain,
 The pain he felt, by wrapping up
 Within a counter-pane.

[But it wouldn't work; he tried to die by an effort of the mind, but his mind was too weak — his constitution was stronger than his will. This was before the tonic action of phosphorous on the brain was discovered. He tried whiskey, but it never affected him

— it never found his brain; it went skirmishing through his system and wore itself out trying to find some ganglionic nodule to work on. He consequently recovered next day sufficiently to go down town.]

And then he bought a Bowie knife
With which to end his woes;
Then went and plunged it in his chest,
[Which was half full of clothes;]

Then went and bought a railroad pass,
And took the evening train
For climes where golden fortunes are
“Extracted without pain.”

This production might be discussed in a number of ways, but comment is directed only to the author's procedure. The alternation of verse and prose afforded Ware the opportunity to explore all the possibilities of synonyms contained in the current dictionaries, but in addition, he included all the slang terms then current, and, one might add appropriately, printable. All who are interested in dating slang should take notice. All these ephemeral slang terms were edited out of the book version. Furthermore, as was the custom of the time, and possibly of his age in relation to his delayed literary experimentation, Ware indulged in puns and related manipulations of words and phrases. This was an excellent discipline in word discrimination and vocabulary building. He was integrating the written English language and the oral United States slang into a single written medium of communication. Thus from the beginning of his practice of rhyming, Ware exemplified the folk process in action, which gave to his literary career its most distinctive character. This particular feature of his writing gave point to a comment of 1902, when he was appointed to the office of Commissioner of Pensions: “Those who have read magazine poetry for years will understand why the eastern papers are so bitterly attacking Ware's rhymes. Ware's poems can actually be understood.”⁹

For reasons not now apparent, Captain Ware did not return to the artisan harness trade, but drifted instead into journalism. The date is not available, but whether or not before or in consequence of his lectures and his “poem,” “The Lovist,” the editor of the *Hawk-Eye* gave him an opportunity to try his hand at newspaper work. As he told the story later, he rapidly assumed

⁹ Wichita (Kansas) *Daily Eagle*, Apr. 20, 1902.

responsibility and virtually became editor during the winter of 1866-1867.¹⁰ Although without signature, the original Ware way of using language would seem to identify a number of early items printed during that period as his own. Later, his identity as "local" editor became explicit.

Even if these are not Ware productions, they sample the type of writing that was conspicuous in upper Mississippi Valley newspapers of the time. Ware's apprenticeship in newspaper writing took place in this atmosphere, and unlike so many young people ambitious to write, he did not treat the commonplace with contempt. Here was his experimental laboratory.

One "local," possibly Ware's, "Love One Another," ran as follows:

Let each one strive with all his might
To be a decent man,
And love his neighbor as himself —
Upon the golden plan.

And if his neighbor chance to be
A pretty female woman,
Why, love her all the more — you see
That's only acting human.¹¹

Another production, "Love Without Nonsense," was in prose with emphasis on contemporary slang. Moll and Bill — he "axed," she said she "was in," Paw said take her, glad to get rid of her. Bill would be soon. Went to magistrate, but Moll changed her mind; both went home. No nonsense. Not like this in novels.¹²

The Burlington Collegiate Institute was referred to locally as the University. Its literary organization, the Eonadelphian Society's (eternal brotherhood) activities were reported in the press, the December 4 Festival being treated with a half-hour long poem by Dr. Harvey, one of his best efforts in that line, according to the scribe. "Local" visited classes there December 20, just prior to the dispersal of the 95 students for Christmas holidays. Christmas week brought its "Santa Claus" poem, "written by one old bachelor and carefully scanned and approved by another." New Year called for a "Carriers' Address," in poetic form, mentioned in the city column but not printed in the paper. It must have circulated only as a broadside, or may

¹⁰ Eugene F. Ware, "History of the Sun-Gold Section," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, 6:296-7 (August, 1937).

¹¹ *Hawk-Eye*, Nov. 24, 1866.

¹² *Ibid.*, Nov. 29, 1866.

have been printed in the weekly edition, but no copy has been found. Suspicion points to Captain Ware as the guilty party, but more of that later.

Under a headline: "Lectures here don't pay," the Eonadelphian Society advertised its lecture series, four delivered, and the fifth scheduled for the following night, January 4, 1867, with two more to come. The occasion for the headline was a disagreement with the "Carriers' Address" of New Year's Day which had so declared, but the lecture advertisement insisted that the author of that document "is mistaken, lectures here do pay." Possibly, if the lecturer on "Nothing" was also the author of the "Carriers' Address," he might have been prejudiced.¹³

In view of Ware's characterization of his mother's philosophy, the choice of the poem, reprinted February 15, 1867, from *All the Year Round*, may have reflected her resignation:

Be not swift to take offense;
Let it pass!

Anger is a foe to sense;
Let it pass!

Brood not darkly over wrong
Which will disappear ere long;
Rather sing a cheery song —
Let it pass!
Let it pass!

Strife corrodes the purest mind,
Let it pass!¹⁴

But possibly there was more in this poem and its associations than meets the eye. In 1875 Ware printed a poem of his own, "The Text," later renamed "The Granger's Text," which carried the refrain at the end of its five stanzas:

Smooth it over and let it go.

Whether or not Ware's, a local of March 20, 1867, appeared on what had come to be accepted as his page, and the writer was not willing to "Let it pass!" Juvenile delinquency had become a problem in postwar Burlington. Some ten to twelve-year-olds had been in court, and the judge warned their parents that if brought before him again they would be sent to jail. The

¹³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 4, 11, 12, 21, 23, 1866; Jan. 1, 3, 1867.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1867.

local pointed to two facts suggested by the circumstances: (1) Boys of that age should not run wild; (2) "if they were arrested and sent to jail for little misdemeanors it would in all probability ruin them and that we ought to have some place elsewhere to put these juvenile offenders."

"AN AGE OF RECONSTRUCTION":

YMLA, GOLDEN HOUR, AND THE EVALUATION OF METALS

Possibly in retrospect Ware placed too much emphasis upon fighting and physical and outdoor amusements in prewar Burlington. In any case, however, too much could not be expected of small fry and teenagers. Somewhere and somehow along the way Ware had acquired other equipment; some knowledge of the Latin, Greek, French, and German languages, besides his native tongue, and presumably an acquaintance with such history and literature as commonly were associated with those studies. If not acquired prior to the war, he had made more than the usual contacts with science. Some knowledge of astronomy had come his way during his first summer of military service. Five years in the army had remade the boy into a man — as he pointed out in retrospect as applied to others, the army often made or broke men — but he never undertook a specific evaluation of what the army did to him. No doubt, his shift in vocations was in a way revolutionary: from the role of artisan whose skill was in his trained hands, to journalism where the brain might take precedence over mere physical skills.

As pointed out in the early paragraphs of this article, the young men of Burlington had acted in their own behalf in organizing a YMLA as an institution which might afford not only amusement and companionship, but the facilities for informal adult self-education. During the winter of 1866-1867, Captain Ware quickly became a leader in this ambitious literary-educational experiment outside of walls of academic formalism. A letter to the editor in the interest of the YMLA, printed in the *Hawk-Eye*, November 18, 1866, put the matter in effective world perspective for this young post-Civil War generation:

The age in which we live, no matter what else it may be called, is pre-eminently an age of reconstruction. On the other side of the Atlantic Bismark and Benedec are invoking all their energies in that direction; the laboring classes in England are waging a determined war on old ideas and institutions, while with us, as a nation,

it is the all absorbing topic. Can we not infuse the spirit of the age into our community and let in the light on our Library Association?

As then organized, the Library Association was not successful, one major complaint being that the five-dollar annual fee excluded mechanics, apprentices, laboring men and students — those most to be benefitted. The new plan proposed was that each new member contribute a book and one dollar per year. By this means the library could start with 500 members, 500 books, and 500 dollars to meet operating expenses. Further fund raising was suggested; donations of sizable sums, entertainments by the young people, and lectures. Some one suggested that the young women might help, and "One of them" wrote, taking up the challenge provisionally — say how, and the women would consider the proposition and give an opinion. In the meantime, supposedly initiated by the young women, the organization of the Golden Hour Association composed of men and women had occurred.¹⁵

One feature of the meeting of the Golden Hour on December 4 had been a poem, "Burlington — From Present and Future Standpoints," printed December 23. Possibly this was the one read by Dr. Harvey. Beyond the "local" calling attention to it, which stated that it was the work of "one of our native poets," no indication of authorship appeared. Part I described the ugly present Burlington, while Part II envisioned a reconstructed city in a never-never land.

Where brightly rolls the Mississippi's stream
Among the bluffs I find my thrilling theme;
Above the gulf a thousand miles or more,
Implanted snugly on the eastern shore
Of Iowa — a pretty little city,
Made up of bricks, and people grave, and witty.
Her boast is fifteen thousand — p'haps she's got
That goodly number, and perhaps she's not.

That eyesore, the Public Square, ugly and long a subject of controversy, was given extended attention, the fire engine was a poor concern, the Court House was fit only for minstrel shows and such, theater there was none, Keokuk had a good public library, the police were inefficient and corrupt — but Burlington did have that wonder of wonders, The Golden Hour.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Dec. 12, 23, 1866; Jan. 5, 1867.

The Vision of the Future reviewed each of the objects of present denunciation, in all their potential glory. But the Public Library!

My brain with boards and vellum soon was reeling;
Books, charts, and pamphlets rose up to the ceiling —
Quaint volumes rare, ripe for the bookworm's feeding.
Refreshing ones fit for a lady's reading.

Possibly, some of the "strong minded" among the aforesaid "ladies" rose up in denunciation of the insult in the last line quoted above, but, if so, the male-controlled newspaper did not print it. "Reconstruction" had not gone that far.

During the first four months of 1867 the young people of Burlington enjoyed themselves, immensely, in a "controversy," pretended or real, over rival literary organizations, metals as instruments of culture, and other things important only to their private lives. The *Hawk-Eye*, thanks to the fortuitous circumstances that put Captain Ware, one of them but inexperienced, in the role of editor, temporarily in charge, served as a forum. And a good time was had by all — unless it was the young man of the "smiling blue orbs."

A communication dated December 31, 1866, opened this phase of the farce:

As a lady and a gentleman were passing up one of our principal thoroughfares, their attention was attracted by the antics of an individual who appeared to be cutting and thrusting at an unseen enemy with a wooden sword and exhibiting other signs of violent passion, they very naturally supposed he was protracting Christmas or anticipating New Year. While they were endeavoring to solve the mystery, an urchin politely informed them that he was only a member of the Golden Hour, rehearsing his part. They thanked him and passed on.¹⁶

Evidently the author of the communication was known and the fact that he had recently visited Europe afforded the opening thrust in the reply to "the gentleman of the smiling blue orbs":

We are sorry to see that an observation on European manners had not abated the inquisitiveness of the gentleman of the smiling blue orbs. We regret he has been putting them to such a bad purpose as peeping behind the curtain at what he facetiously terms the antics of a member of the Golden Hour.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Jan. 3, 1867.

The gentleman may rest assured his curiosity will never serve as a passport to that select circle, although it may some day prove a short road to his final hour.¹⁷

The owner of the "blue orbs" jumped at conclusions about the identity of the author of the reply, was "intensely indignant" and pursued his victim "with a shelalah." The editor observed, however, that the identification was in error and admonished: "Woodman spare that tree." It was then that "Z" explained to the public what it was all about; the history of the Golden Hour Literary Society, originated by the ladies to aid the YMLA. "The fruition in part of the prophetic vision of our native poet is surely near — Burlington moves. . . . The object of the association is intellectual, moral and social culture." A public exhibition was to be given soon. Next, in satire upon the Golden hour, "Histrionicus," unregenerate, obviously not among the select, described his rival organization, "The Brass Minute Association," which, if his version was not the figment of the imagination constructed for the purpose, "came together last evening, like poor relations to a funeral, without a call. A permanent organization was effected." Their theatrical program called for heavy tragedy men, and two were selected, then "A scene shifter was borrowed from the Golden Hour, a selection of plays [made], which for the sake of novelty were taken from Shakespeare." Also, to be different no doubt, and to disillusion everyone about any suspicion of imitation, a public entertainment was to be given "for the purpose of furnishing Burlington with city railway cars."¹⁸

The next move in the YMLA enterprise is not easy to evaluate. A correspondent wrote the editor, reviewing the history of that organization, pointing out that the first annual meeting had been due the first Tuesday in January, 1867, but had been postponed. The organizers, a dozen young men, had wanted a place to spend their time better than "billiard saloons and drinking hells and other amusement." They had helped themselves and had not received the support they had "a right to expect, but they were told they had not asked for advice — a pilot — and would now have to make the best of it. . . . they now call upon you to aid in the reconstruction." Toward this end, the writer invited all interested, whether or not members, to attend the adjourned annual meeting, elect officers, and plan a program of action. The young ladies also were invited. One of the latter replied, ques-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Jan. 4, 1867.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1867.

tioning the genuineness of the invitation, which should have been written in the name of the officers of the YMLA over their own signatures. That form of public announcement was then forthcoming. The outcome was not encouraging, as only about a dozen young men turned out. But the reporter for the meeting described the proceedings satirically, and may not have been a good guide.¹⁹

Whatever the merits of the YMLA, the auxiliary society's activities appeared to thrive. Possibly girls, not books, were the inspiration. At any rate, in the press, "Amicus" turned out a poem, "The Golden Hour":

The Golden Hour

Time, to the wise more precious far than gold
Seems naught but brass when fool's dull eyes behold;
And, show by actions mean and visage sour,
They envy those who prize each "Golden Hour,"
A sterling coinage they would fain destroy,
By an admixture of their base alloy;
But metal pure by honest use kept bright,
With no vile compound, ever will unite.
Eclipsed beneath the local blaze of light
The spurious sinks into oblivion's night
"Histrionicus!" pray list to common sense,
Truth substitute for shallow brained pretence
Or find some perch where kindred owlets flit
And solid granite will pass for wit.²⁰

Such a challenge did not want for acceptance, "Iamacus" singing the praises of the metal brass and the rise of man through the Brazen Age. Gold was useful only for ornaments and show, this partisan insisted, and praised brazen trumpets and guns. "Amicus" was a perfectly good Latin word meaning friend, but his brassy opponent's pen-name "Iamacus" was broken down into its component plain United States words and accordingly the rebuttal was addressed "To 'I am a cus.'" The "poem" was rather long, but the first eight lines are necessary to later developments:

To "I am a cus"

Degenerate son of these aspiring times
Why to base metal prostitute thy rhymes?
Dost thou in this shrewd town expect to pass
For sterling coin thy counterfeit of brass?

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 10, 13, 16, 1867.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 1867.

Thou subterranean animal — thou gopher —
 Unconscious of the precious ore of Ophir,
 Into the stream of thy doggerel litter throw —
 There, like blind pups, to seek the shades below.²¹

Two metals had now had their turn, when a third called for a hearing. If the writer is to be believed, a third literary society, "The Silver Hour," had been organized, and a "poem" in praise of silver bid for acceptance — silver — voices, hair of the aged, stars, notes, laughs, rays, streamlets, moonbeams, showers, snow-flakes, dew-drops, cords, clouds, etc. Another exchange between Amicus and Iamacus followed, when a fourth rival entered the lists, "Steelocrat," with a "poem" of 27 four-line stanzas:

Of metals of all kinds
 There's none that in our minds
 Is more useful than steel
 And in its possession security we feel.

The uses of steel were recounted, but gold was "now-a-days flighty," brass was difficult these days to distinguish from gold. But "Domesticus," who would have none of this controversy over metals — directed this warning to his fellow "cuses" — "find a Domestic Hour before you are old."²²

In his capacity as "locals" editor, Ware had acted, as it were, in the role of moderator over the exchanges of views, poetic and otherwise. Possibly, behind the scenes, he had done more. But late in April, that is, April 21, a Sunday, without title or indication of authorship, he summed up the whole metals rivalry in seven two-line stanzas — which were later to be acknowledged under the title "Printer's Ink" ("Printer' Zink"):

Once spoke a tutor to his pupils: "Name
 The metal that doth cover men with fame."
 Out spoke the pupils in a chorus: "Steel,
 Before the others doth the sceptre reel."
 "Wrong," said the tutor, "Try again to name
 That metal that most honors men with fame."
 Again in chorus spoke the pupils, "Gold
 For it can buy, and honors all are sold."
 "Wrong," said the sage, "that metal try to name
 That gives the most of honor and of fame."

²¹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1867.

²² *Ibid.*, Jan. 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 1867.

They all were silent: then spoke one, "I think
The greatest one of all is Printer' Zink."

"Right," said the tutor, "It doth never fail
To make the nations tremble and turn pale."

After some verbal editing this poem appeared in the *Rhymes of Ironquill*, 1885 and later, with an eighth stanza:

Then shouted the students, in chorus, "Right —
The World most honors that which has most might."

At that time a prefatory note revealed the persistence of the punning habit: "As Samuel hewed A-gag to pieces in the presence of the king, so we would like to hew one to pieces in the presence of the 'Wild, Wild West.'" A further comment may not be out of place at this point. In his long poem, "The Short Haired Poet," read before the Kansas Editorial Association at Fort Scott in 1874, Ware elaborated the theme of the role of Editor and of the Press.

But in Burlington, 1866-1867, all this had been done in behalf of the YMLA, and it had all been entertaining, but an editorial on April 16, 1867, admitted the results had not been tangible. Whether or not Ware's verdict, or that of the publisher, the alternatives were pointed out:

Those who try to "freeze out" billiard saloons and euchre clubs, and not furnish any substitute, will find that they can't do it. Young people will pass their evenings somewhere, and "home influences," when a person has no home, are not very potent. Who can get up a plan for a Burlington library?

TABITHA JONES

February's poetical diversion took a new turn when Tabitha Jones's plea was heard — where was her elder sister Betsy's beau? Tabitha's mother said she, Tabitha, could not have a beau or marry until her turn. Local urged anyone knowing the whereabouts of the missing person to hasten to make it known. Promptly came the information from "C" that Betsy's beau had last been seen going up the hill, unwillingly. In Burlington, "the hill" meant a place of confinement for violation of law — jail, calaboose, hoose-gow, jug, clink —

But when his term expires, dear one,
 He'll make up for the past.
 Then, on you and Jerry Brown,
 Or any other Jerry,
 Your naughty Ma'll no longer frown
 To break your heart with *nary*.

In nine four-line stanzas Tabitha rejoiced at the news: dawn at last; Betsy happy, as her beau, whom she had rejected, threatened "to cut his throat, or hang himself, or have a jolly spree." Betsy was happy that he had chosen the last, and so were Tabitha and Jerry, who now might marry. But she warned "C" not to "hint of any other Jerry":

Or call her dear and dear one
 In such a tender tone,
 She'll have him understand at once
 That she has a Jerry of her own.

To keep the ball rolling, the Sunday *Hawk-Eye*, February 24, printed by "request" a poetical "pop-the-question" puzzle from the Council Bluffs *Nonpareil* — one "which has come down from the school days of 'the oldest man.'"

I thee read see that me;
 Love is down will I'll have
 But that and you have you'll
 One and up and you if.

A suitable reward for the task well done was promised by Editor Ware: "Some of the young ladies who never saw it — may, if they solve it without help, call on 'Mr. Local' for a boquet." Promptly, Tabitha Jones claimed the reward. To follow all the by-play, her communication must be reproduced in full, including Ware's insertion in parenthesis as "Dear Local," of a correction in the salutation:

Mr. Editor — (That should read "Dear Local") — Here is the solution of your pop the question puzzle:

I love but one
 And that is thee
 Read down and up
 And you will see
 That I'll have you
 If you'll have me.

There now Jim the solving's done,
 I did it almost right away,
 With nary help from any one,
 Now, please, sir, that boquet.
 [Signed] Tabitha Jones

Ware appended his reply in rhymed prose, a form he was to use more than once — for what reason is not certain:

[A Boquet for Tabitha Jones]

Soon the weather will be moister, and then, like a Blue Point Oyster, spring will pour out warm and lovely, genial, vernal, and serene. When at last it strikes its focus, by some magic hocus pocus, out the primrose and the crocus, on the meadows will be seen. Then, when all the birds are vocal, in the blazing sun-light focal, out will step ye little local for ye flowrets on ye lea, and he'll take 'em, and he'll shake 'em, and from twig and stem he'll brake 'em, and into a boquet make 'em, and he'll forward them to thee.

Tabitha's "few lines" in acknowledgment, reprimand, and admonishment, were laid over for a few day but were as follows:

To Mr. Local

Now, "Mr. Local" please don't get
 Your tender feelings out of gear,
 And have a raving spell and fret
 Because I didn't call you dear.
 Indeed I never thought that you
 Would get yourself in such a worry,
 And take such pains to show it too;
 I only thought of dearest Jerry.
 Yes, for I know that Jerry Brown
 Would get his feelings out of gear,
 And go a raving up and down
 If I should dare to call you dear.
 Well, that is just the reason why
 I didn't dare to call you dear;
 Now that you know, please won't you try
 And get your feelings into gear.
 Then shall I wait right patiently
 Until the time again shall come,
 When "little flowerets on ye lea"
 Will all be bursting into bloom.

Tabitha Jones

That ended the exchange of pleasantries — except that it didn't. On March 15, some two weeks had elapsed when Ware issued a friendly warning to fellow editors:

Very frequently in picking up copies of remote exchanges, we still come across stray waifs of Miss Tabitha's poetry still copied and re-copied and presented to readers, who do not know who Tabitha Jones is. Now we wish to say to those outside of the city that Miss Jones writes *exclusively* for the Burlington Hawk-Eye, (don't you Tabitha?) and for no other, (also Steelocrat and Domesticus). To all of which we must give the moral advice, "Do write."²³

Selected from his rhymed paragraph, about the bouquet for Tabitha Jones, and rewritten in 1873, Ware produced the following as a part of a poem entitled "A Romance":

On the shores of Yellow Paint,
After winter, cold and chill,
When the springtime strikes its focus,
By what magic hocus-pocus
Come the primrose and the crocus,
On the meadow and the hill?

PUNS

This Tabitha Jones sequence had whiled away another six weeks of the winter, but other things became mixed into the spring madness of that season. If puns are the lowest form of wit, then Captain Ware, his friends in Burlington, and indeed his whole generation must be written down definitely as low-brow — but they had a good time. The term pun as used here must be recognized as including conundrums, and various forms of play on words, whether or not strictly according to the formalism of a dictionary definition of a pun. Whatever their defects, these young folk were not cursed by any deadly virus of academic or intellectual formalism. In abbreviated version, this is how Ware enlivened the locals with the saga of the "cowslips" up Jefferson Street. An Iowan had bought a cow in Illinois, but "the cow shed many tears on leaving the parental cowshed," and only with great difficulty was persuaded to depart. After crossing the river into Burlington she again resisted, "and a rope was hitched around her horns and tied to the endgate of a wagon, drawn by two little mustangs."

²³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 3, 5, 8, 24, 26, Mar. 1, 2, 15, 1867.

The little animals started up Jefferson street, and the obstinate bovine squared out her feet, braced herself, and let them pull her up the street. The effect produced was something like a gang plow. The cow slips here and there but still the procession moves on. These cowslips were not the *primula veris* or cowslips of the meadow, but a succession of quadrupedal cow slips that finally brought the overtaken mustangs to a halt. The driver jumped out of his wagon and began to extemporize adjectives of the most exotic brilliancy, but still the cow did not cower. All in vain the efforts of the mustangs — there was one drawback, and that was the cow.

A crowd gathered and all kinds of methods were proposed. Finally some sensible man untied the rope from the wagon and the cow went on in the most quiet and amicable manner.

Why is a Local like a growing child. Because he picks up in-formation.

Someone sends us the following miserable and atrocious conundrum. Why is a person galloping his horse up a hill like another person carrying a young lady a little dog? Cause he's taking a gel-a pup. We propose to publish the author's name in our next unless he will leave town.

A man by drinking much rye Sunday became ri-otous, was taken before Esquire Dodge, and on account of his hil-arity, was taken out on the hill. He was brought before his honor yesterday morning and tried. The Esquire told him that getting drunk was a fine thing. He paid it, and "liberty, that priceless boon," was his.

Hell hath no fury like a woman corned. . . . [This reappeared several years later in another context in the Fort Scott *Monitor*.]

A man getting up yesterday morning said it was the first Rose of Springtime.

When you kiss a billet-doux that you have just received from your sweetheart, why is it like the nightmare? Because its the inku-bus. The man that wrote that was sun struck yesterday.

A pretty girl and a wild horse are liable to do much mischief,

for the one runs away with a fellow's body, and the other runs away with his heart. — Exchange.

K-rect, by the one jolted — by the other jilted.

The *Transcript* says they are to have an aviary full of wild birds. Our city has a knave-iary full of wild "birds" already.

These are only a part of the fare that was printed during March and April, 1867.²⁴ Two conclusions may be appropriate at this juncture against the time of further reckoning. The young Captain demonstrated in his punning the point made in the "puffs" for his lecture on Indians; "his originality of thought," which made even the most prosaic local take on a fresh and sometimes unexpected appearance — on occasion endowing reality with a startling clarity quite existentialistic in objective amoral perspective. Secondly, this propensity for manipulating language, more than mere punning, was a characteristic which he did not outgrow. At best he used it significantly; at worst, during his late years often it became an empty cleverness that was frequently in bad taste, detracting from a well-earned reputation.

THE SPRING POETRY CROP

In the *Hawk-Eye*, March 10, 1867, Ware recorded "four rhythmical compositions written by a new, fresh, crop of Burlington poets" — all on the same subject — "She was beautiful — professed great attachment for me — corresponded for several years (or many months) — adored her — absent short time — came back — perfidious one — engaged . . . love her yet — gone forever." As literary critic, Ware pointed out that:

Some of these pieces are literary centipedes, having more feet than they know what to do with in some of the lines, and some lines so frightfully catalectic that ideas and feet are both left out. We don't wish to publish them, because outsiders would get a bad idea of Burlington girls (to whom there are none equal), and they would also think it was a bad place for idiots. We would advise each of the parties to live on gruel until the middle of April, and then go to Colorado. It is very funny, but no less true, that when a person finds that his "idol" has "gone back on him," he immediately gets poetic, writes outlandish silliness, and dashes to the nearest printing office to have it set up in type. Besides, we've got a lot on hand that we wrote ourselves, that we haven't worked off yet. All communications on other subjects will be cheerfully received,

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Mar. 9, 13, 19, 24, Apr. 2, 5, 24, 27, 1867.

whether in prose or verse. Authors having unpublished poems in our waste basket will be allowed to come up and pick them out.

On March 26, Ware commented on a further accumulation of verse: "In our local column will be noticed several rhythmical contributions from Burlington writers. Several remain over to be published in our next." In fact, three issues were required to work them off. A "Tale of a Possum," in Latin, from Wheaton (Illinois) College, drew this explanation: "Some of the Latin is rather original, but it requires only a moderate familiarity with that language to get a tolerable understanding of the 'lingo.'" None of this stream of rhymes resembles Ware's own output unless it might have been "The Prairie" from the German:

Thou broad expanse, horizon gert and lone,
The traveler views thee with a shrinking dread;
Shrubless and void in undulations thrown,
Thou seemest nature's empty hand outspread!
The vein-like runnel rippling in its bed,
The tortuous trench that checks the burdened wain,
The intersecting trails wore by the tread
Of sable herds and Spring's dissolving rain —
These are the lines that work, with tracings grand
The furrowed hollow of this giant hand!²⁵

Shortly afterward another poem of six eight-line stanzas, entitled "The Worn Out Font of Type," regardless of authorship, requires attention:

The Worn Out Font of Type

I'm setting by my desk, George;
Before me on the floor,
There lies a worn out font of type
Full twenty thousand score.
And many months have passed George
Since they were bright and new.
And many are the tales they've told —
The false, the strange, the true.

The body of the poem catalogued the events that had been printed — horror, tempest, wreck, murder, earthquake, suicide, crop failures, defaults, boilers bursting, steamboats snagged, riots, duels, robberies, floods, fires, accidents, births, marriages, deaths.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Mar. 26, 1867.

I can't pretend to mention half
 My inky friends have told,
 Since shining bright and beautiful,
 They issued from the mould —
 How unto some they joy have brought,
 To others grief and tears,
 Yet faithfully the record kept
 Of fast receding years.

Even though "The Worn Out Font of Type"²⁶ may not be his, in verse of acknowledged authorship, Ware used a similar idea, simplified in "The Telegraph Wire," date not determined.

During this round of early spring verse Ware did work off one of his own that is identifiable beyond question, entitled "YUMGAPRTXI." Such a name for a poem required an introduction, or at any rate some explanation:

Burlington is having a season of unexplained prosperity. The weather is airy and bracing. Vice and crime have absolutely ceased to exist; dogs decline to fight; horses positively refuse to run off; accidents will not happen although surrounded by the most fortuitous circumstances; no drunkards infest our midnight streets; no pickpockets seek adroitly to draw untold ducats from our pockets; no midnight burglars enter dwellings and carry away quantities of priceless "swag;" everything is in a state [of] the most fearful morality. In view of such a painful absence of crime it became soon apparent that something must be did. Up in the attic lay an old neglected machine, badly used and out of repair. We went out and bought a globe valve, run some Babbitt metal in the boxing, raised the gauge to 180, let the steam on, run the belt from the tight pully to the counter-shaft, pointed the machine at the river and said there's your subject, with the following result:

YUMGAPRTXI

1.

The time has been, when fetterless
 And free,
 Commercial navies
 Floated to the sea.

The time has been
 When fleets did fleetly ride,
 On peerless river,
 On thy pier-less tide.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Mar. 31, 1867.

When from the icy origin
Direct,
Thou sought'st the tropics
With thy tide unchecked.

Float on,
Float on, Majestic and superb.
May ill be-tide them, if
Thy tide they curb.

Re-
sistless river, through the laughing land,
Thou sweetest with
A current great and grand.

The same alike amid the
Northern pines,
The same amid the cypresses
And vines.

Thou scornest those
Who would thy current chain;
Thou fling'st thy reckless
Wavelets to the main

Above the waves
No piers appear to peer,
For with thy tide
Men fear to interfere.

Thus be it ever in thy after
Annals,
That none shall dare to vex thy
Deep wrought channels,
With chamfered piers,
Or locks with timbered pannels.

2.

The time has been,
That on thy banks were hurled
The tidal billows
Of the olden world.

Oh Commerce! Commerce!
Grandly are you crowned;
Once beat your iron trident
On the ground.

And ere the echo of the
Blow is done
The brick built cities
Tremble in the sun.

Beat down your trident
When the sea surf raves,
And snow-white navies rise amid the waves.

And when
You touch your trident in the strand
The cities maratime
In clusters stand

Oh! bird-eyed commerce, from thy height sublime,
Though [thou?] overlookest
Every sea and clime.

As well thou see'st
Where thy southern sails
Are driven, riven by
The tides and gales.

As where thy northern steamers
From their track
Both beat the wild winds
And the wild waves back.

Oh, commerce, when
You turn your power away,
The Kingdoms crumble,
And the States decay.

And blocks Titanic,
In the sands lie drifted,
To show how Empires fade
And realms are rifted,
When from the soil,
Thy trident has been lifted.

3.

Oh, happy River,
Thus upon thy banks
The solid cities
Rose to rapid ranks.

Commercial jewel
 Of the happy West
 The ORCHARD CITY was
 The first and best.

At Burlington
 The GOLDEN HOUR was then
 Thy *Golden* — moraguelatizevoxirbjorumt
 Jqalzurmitegruyofunctrimovilt.

Closed for repairs.²⁷

Several features of this poem identify it as Ware's, although he never acknowledged paternity. The invocation to Commerce (Business), and the use of Neptune's trident as the basis for "cities maritime" and sea power reappear in later poems. The first of these ideas was used in three poems, "The Carriers' Address" of January 1, 1868, the "Short Haired Poet" of 1874, and the "Corn Poem" of 1876. The lines

The brick built cities
 Tremble in the sun,

were used in modified form in 1868 and in 1871 in the "Carriers' Address" and in the poem "Fort Scott," which was revised into the short poem usually referred to as "O'er Sunny Kansas." Furthermore, the phrase "The Solid Cities" was later to be the slogan applied to Fort Scott — "The Solid City."

Ware was taken to task for the rhymes he was printing, whether or not his own, but offered to consider even the critic's verses:

Dear Local: 'Tis the very worst of crimes
 To jingle nonsense under the garb of rhymes —
 To dress bad English up in poorer verse
 Is simply murder — and what sin is worse!
 The maxim hath it that the gods despise
 A middling verse of all beneath the skies;
 Then what resentment must their eyes suffuse
 When they behold an effort of thy muse?
 And you I fear will share their just temptation
 To visit me with righteous indignation;
 So with these mitigating trifles up in view
 I'll grind you out a yard or two.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Mar. 16, 1867.

As editor, Ware added this note: "The above comes with no further explanation. Was it omitted, or was that all? Send us the 'pome.'"

He had ideas of his own about the writing of poetry and evidently had been making a study of what the standard authorities offered. These he recast in his own "original" language, fully peppered with puns:

CHIGNON poetry waste-basketed. Subject too antique. Lines of poetry should be gram as well as ryth-matical — symmetrical as well as metrical. They should not have redundant feet like a centipede, because too many feet is a bad feat-ure. Spondees shouldn't be compelled to act as trochees, nor dactyls be compelled to "sub" for iambuses. When the machine is started, the length of the lines should be fixed and spaced off like tape lines, so that they won't reel off any longer than required. Before the piece of poetry is *entirely* finished the author should select some subject to write upon. Read Quackenbos' *Rhetoric*, pps. 400, 423 inclusive, and try again. Would make these few suggestions personally if we knew your name. Allow us to close with a quotation in regard to the potation — there, that's a rythm — of Castilian spring water:

"A one horse poet is a one-horse thing,
Spring in, or taste not, the Pierian spring."
Smith.²⁸

After such a disquisition on poetic principles, what should any respectable editor have done with this frayed out fragment, whether his own or treasure-trove? —

Ode to the Nigras Circumbendibus

It passed in beauty
Like the flowers that spring
Behind the footsteps
Of the winter king.
It passed in beauty like a fairy troop,
It passed in beauty like a plate of soup.

It passed in beauty
Like the clouds on high,
That drape the ceilings
Of the summer sky.
It passed in beauty like the lightning's flash,
It passed in beauty like a dish of hash.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Apr. 14, 1867.

It passed in beauty
 Like the waves that reach
 Their jeweled fingers
 Up the sanded beach.
 It passed in beauty like a rocket hurled,
 It passed in beauty like a doughnut curled,
 It passed in beauty like the tender plants,
 It passed in beauty like the cook's bright glance.

The above was found in a chair in a Water street boarding house. It was probably written immediately after dinner.²⁹

The last of the strictly spring greenery to be recorded — not printed — needs to be noticed because of its associations. Ware specified two disqualifications: not signed, and too long, but it had a good plot:

A handsome young man, and a pretty smart one (as his verses show) fell deeply in love with a young lady whose gentle eye, amethystine lips, sparkling wit and conversation tore in shreds his heart, so that it looked like a skein of red silk, and the young lady exerted herself so much with smiles and "sich," that the young man without a moment's hesitation, flung himself at her feet, got down on the floor in his new pair of drabs, that for the sake of rythm he informs us, were purchased at Raab's. "While at her feet and before he had risen, he asked the young maiden if she would be his'en," — but the young lady "saw it not," so said she, "No! no! with a tone that made him cower, *You do not belong to the Golden Hour.*" So now the young man after shedding "a great many tears of the purest crystal is going to slaughter himself with a pistol."

We regret being unable to give the poem in full, but the moral and one or two other lines we suppress because we won't allow the *Golden Hour* to be criticized so, because wherefore should we.³⁰

All this is man made, or man-maid according to the male dispensation that ran the world. Didn't the girls of Burlington write poetry? At any rate, only Tabitha Jones succeeded in breaking through the barrier of male conventions with her bit of satire calling for "an adjustable spittoon" that was realistic social history, but certainly not Literature with a capital L. The "poem" was in six stanzas of six lines each:

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Apr. 27, 1867.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, May 2, 1867.

Wanted

Some Yankee genius to invent
A patent adjustable machine
For those hateful men who cannot breathe
Without a cud their jaws between,
And spit and sputter right and left,
Regardless quite of crinoline.³¹

To be sure it's putrid, but so were the habits of the men who were so badly in need of either an adjustable spittoon or a reform of their social habits. Tabitha was realistic in assuming that the former, however improbable, was more nearly within the realm of the possible.

Ware's editing of the *Hawk-Eye* did attract favorable attention and when the Council Bluffs *Nonpareil* referred to it as one of the favorite exchanges — "a live, valuable and spicy paper, and one that would do honor to any city west of Cape Cod," in pleased embarrassment the Captain replied:

— Teetotally "kerflumixed" with emotion, we can only respond in the eloquently terse and impressive language of the Arapahoe poet — "How," and say that as you are the wide-awake-est paper on the Western Slope, so will we try to be on the Eastern, and make our columns — in the high-toned language of the Muscatine *Courier* — "a concatenation of accumulated acumen," or words to that effect.³²

Possibly illness contributed to the difficulties of living up to that boast, but in the *Hawk-Eye*, May 12, Ware complained of Burlington dullness:

Oh'd by ye Local

Oh, for a crime of dark and damning guilt,
To make the people wilt.

Oh, for some frightful burglary or arson
Or stunning larcen —

(The last part of that word will be found in
another column, it was sacrificed to rhythm.)

Oh that they'd catch and bring some mighty thief
To Burlington and grief.

"Oh for a home" I sighed in days gone by
Now for a hom i-cide sigh I.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Apr. 5, 1867.

³² *Ibid.*, Apr. 16, 1867.

Oh that some wretch would fall beneath the fury
Of the Grand Jury.

Oh that some drunken fighting pup,
Would get knocked *down* and then beat up,
(That is, excelled in early rising.)

The gold of Ophir, I don't Oh nor owe for
But these big items I'm a going to go for.

Thus "The gold of Ophir" cropped out again from the Golden Hour verse. Also, here is the original version of the "Oh'd" reworked for the Fort Scott *Monitor* and published also in the second edition of the *Rhymes of Iron-quill* (1889), but dropped from later editions.³³

Four days later the *Hawk-Eye* contained this announcement of loss:

PERSONAL — Capt. E. A. Ware [sic], who has been engaged on the local department of THE HAWK-EYE for some time, bid us adieu yesterday, and took up his line of march for the Cherokee country in Southern Kansas, where he proposes to pitch his tent for an indefinite period. We wish him a pleasant journey and a successful career in his new home. While we regret to have him go, we can but congratulate the community in which he may locate on the acquisition of a genial, witty and warm-hearted gentleman. He took leave in the following words:

"The trees are leaving out, and I'll leave too;
And bid you, with no more ado, adieu."

Now that Ware had "leaved out" with the trees of Burlington, the *Hawk-Eye* reverted to its cold-dishwater dullness. But what a wonderful time those young folk had had that winter of 1866-1867. One might almost say, what a wonderful time Captain Ware had given his friends. A combination of circumstances had allowed him a free hand, and all of those young people had risen to the occasion. That may not have been a good way to run a newspaper, but it paid off in long-term dividends far beyond any possible foreseeable calculations of the owners. What became of the several participants, except Ware, is not known to the present writer, and is not the immediate concern of this study, although the season's diversion may have left an indelible impression on more than Ware's life. This is documented social history of the first order of magnitude. It provides a glimpse into

³³ It was printed in the Fort Scott *Daily Monitor*, Jan. 19, 1903, again with the explanation about the scarcity of news.

what was going on in the minds of post-Civil War youth in Burlington, Iowa, during the winter of 1866-1867, when Eugene Ware was one of them. They and he were acquiring an education — and the record was much more informing than the "Education" of Henry Adams, for the same period. How many other localities left a comparable record? Every generation must answer the age-old questions which, to each person, are new — mating, ethics, and ultimate values, but always in a world of change.

CONCLUSION

Five years in the army, whether or not causal or coincidental, had surely done something to the teenager of the 1850's. Not only were flowerets for Tabitha blossoming on the lea, but so was Ware leafing out — that spring of 1867 — for new adventures in Kansas. Already he had served his poetic apprenticeship. The later myth that Ware learned to write rhymes at Fort Scott, by composing harness advertisements in verse, is nonsense, although he appears to have contributed to the legend even if he did not originate it. But the possibility must be recognized that he may have written verse prior to his *Hawk-Eye* experience. Had Ware's mind and its peculiar capacity to manipulate language laid completely fallow during his five years in the army, the years twenty to twenty-four inclusive? His army diaries and his letters to his mother may have the answer, but these documents have not been available for this study.³⁴ On the other hand, if he had not found himself during those five army years, then indeed this winter of 1866-1867 was momentous.

The *Hawk-Eye* verse demonstrated several things about Ware that were already fixed so firmly that he did not outgrow them. His imagery was peculiarly associated with the River — the Mississippi at Burlington — and the river connection with the sea. His extensive knowledge of the classical languages and literatures reinforced this sense of the significance of water, commerce, and water-based power in history. Next to the river in importance, he responded to the magic of type and of the telegraph. Whether prior to his *Hawk-Eye* experience or because of it, the power of the press, both book and newspaper, was central to his thought. The telegraph was an adjunct to the press and his army duty of more than a year keeping the

³⁴ Jean Nelson, granddaughter of Eugene Ware, has informed the present writer that the letters and diaries are not among papers held by the family.

telegraph lines open across the plains had indelibly impressed upon his mind the vital role of that form of technology.

On the other hand, the railroad, the locomotive upon rails, the unique instrument invented by man for the exploitation of the interior of continental land masses, especially those inaccessible by water communications, never successfully challenged his imagination. Yet, mechanically powered land locomotion was basic to the reconstruction of society during the late nineteenth century. Fort Scott, Kansas, was a railroad town, not a river town like Burlington, Iowa, but in his later poetry, Ware idealized "the murmuring Marmaton" which flowed through it, and the nearby "raging Yellow Paint Creek."

To be sure, no one knows better than the present writer that all the prose and poetry produced by the exuberant Burlington youth, during the winter of 1866-1867, stinks. Yes, it stinks. But such completely uninhibited expression afforded the opportunity for youth to practice writing. Later, casual or causal, as the case may be, a stigma came to be associated with the love of poetry, or other art, and hypercritical pragmatic American scepticism boasted of its sophistication. However it may have been for others of the *Hawk-Eye* group, for Eugene Ware a remarkably large number of the poetic ideas which were to give his *Rhymes of Ironquill* a certain national, even international, distinction, were printed in their first crude versions in the Burlington *Daily Hawk-Eye*, during his association with that paper.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM LARRABEE AND RAILROAD REFORM

By J. Brooke Workman*

In the era of unchecked freedom for business enterprise, which began during the Civil War and continued into the twentieth century in some cases, perhaps no segment of the national economy enjoyed more complete freedom than the railroad companies. Restraint, when it came in Iowa during the administrations of Governor William Larrabee (1886-1890), received wide publicity, some of it friendly, some decidedly hostile. Although Governor Larrabee later ably presented and defended his views and actions in his book, *The Railway Question*, published in 1893, a considerable legend still persists that he was a wealthy businessman who suddenly and inexplicably turned against his own kind and engaged in a crusade against the railroads of Iowa.

That a Middle Western businessman of considerable fortune should automatically be on the side of the great Eastern corporations is too simple an interpretation. There is no reason why Larrabee, wealthy banker, manufacturer, and landowner, should have been a supporter of the railroads, when those corporations, by their unrestrained actions, were hurting not only the Iowa farmer but the Iowa businessman as well. In spite of criticism from such fellow-Republicans as James S. Clarkson, editor of the *Des Moines Register* and Republican leader of national as well as state stature, Larrabee more truly reflected the attitudes of the majority of Iowans in the 1880's than did his critics. Thus it is time for his story to be re-examined in the interests of historical truth and justice.

William Larrabee was born in Ledyard, Connecticut, on January 20, 1832, the seventh of the nine children of Adam and Hannah Larrabee. His ancestral history is somewhat uncertain, since "there are indications that they [the Larrabees] came from England, but family tradition says the name

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was originally French, perhaps 'L'Arabie,' and that the family had been connected with the Huguenot cause in France." Whatever the case may be, it is generally accepted that his earliest relatives were living in Connecticut in the seventeenth century.¹

William's childhood and youth were spent in the Windham vicinity. His education consisted of learning the practical arts of farming and of attending the common schools near his home. The only thing to mar his Connecticut years was a firearms accident at the age of fourteen years, which cost him the sight of his right eye. When he was nineteen, William taught a country school near his home for two terms.

Young William's two older brothers, Nathan and Charles, had gone to sea, and a younger brother, Henry, had taken over the management of his mother's estate. Perhaps William's decision to move to Iowa was influenced by his brother, John, and his sister, Hannah. In 1849 Hannah and her young husband, Elias H. Williams, accompanied by John, left on a journey to their home in Iowa. Both John and Hannah were favorably impressed with Iowa and wrote to their friends commending its virtues.² Possibly influenced by these letters, William made the long journey to Iowa in 1853 to join his sister and brother-in-law and to make his place in the world.

When Larrabee reached Iowa, he decided to continue his teaching. And so for one term he taught school at Hardin in Allamakee County. For the next three years he was employed as foreman of his brother-in-law's large Grand Meadow Farm near Postville. In 1857 he bought a one-third interest in a flour mill in Clermont in Fayette County. Two years later, with an eye on a business of his own, Larrabee bought his partners' shares and became the sole owner of the Brick City Mills.³ Thus, within six years after his arrival in Iowa, William Larrabee had become independent.

Larrabee proved to be a good businessman and a hard worker, and his energy and intelligence soon won him the respect of the people of Clermont. He improved the mill and spent long hours working in it, and before long

¹ Ruth A. Gallaher, "From Connecticut to Iowa," *The Palimpsest*, 22:66-7 (March, 1941).

² Mildred Throne (ed.), "Letters of John Larrabee, 1849," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 47:260ff (July, 1949).

³ *Portrait and Biographical Album of Fayette County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1891), 155-6.

had doubled its capacity. This was the turning point toward his financial success.

The ensuing years of William Larrabee's private life were characterized by increasing economic and social success. With the profits from his flour milling business, Larrabee expanded his holdings in land, banking, and railroad building. His land possession had begun in 1856, before he had purchased the Clermont mill, when he had bought a quarter section of land in Minnesota.⁴

His extensive land holdings caused him no end of trouble later during his political career. He was styled as "the monopolist" and as a mortgage shark by his Democratic opponents. During the latter days of Larrabee's campaign for Governor of Iowa in 1885, the Democratic *Des Moines Leader* published a long list of the mortgages which he held in Fayette and Clayton counties, all totaling \$249,794.08. The day after the publication of this revealing financial statement, Larrabee refuted some parts of the list as outdated, but in his refutation he gave considerable evidence of his wealth.⁵ Without doubt, he was one of the largest landholders in Iowa.

Banking was also one of Larrabee's financial interests. In 1872 he and his younger brother, Frank, bought the controlling interest in the First National Bank at McGregor, Iowa. By 1885 he had connections with thirteen different banks in Iowa, Minnesota, and North Dakota, including the one at Clermont.⁶

His direct financial interest in railroads, however, does not seem to have proved quite as profitable. As early as 1878 he was a member of the board of directors of a small narrow-gauge railroad, the Iowa Eastern Railroad Company. The earnings of this northern Iowa railroad were small, and sometimes it operated at a financial deficit.⁷

William Larrabee's personal life was closely connected with his financial career; his pecuniary successes gave him ample opportunity to develop his many interests. On September 12, 1861, he married Anna M. Appelman of Clermont. Their home, "Montauk," built on the North Hill near Clermont

⁴ Johnson Brigham, *Iowa, Its History and Its Foremost Citizens* (3 vols., Chicago, 1915), 1:492.

⁵ West Union *Fayette County Union*, Sept. 15, 1885; *Des Moines Leader*, Oct. 8, 1885, quoted in *Des Moines Iowa State Register*, Oct. 11, 1885; *ibid.*, Oct. 13, 1885.

⁶ West Union *Fayette County Union*, Oct. 27, 1885.

⁷ *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, 1880, 555.* (Hereafter cited as *Report*, with appropriate date.)

at a cost of about \$20,000, was considered by some as "the best residence property in Northern Iowa."⁸ There they reared their seven children.

The Civil War nearly interrupted Larrabee's life in Clermont. He raised a company of soldiers and was elected their first lieutenant, but his army career was short-lived, since he was rejected because of his limited vision. With this disappointment behind him, Larrabee returned to his business career and personal interests. He soon stocked his home with one of the largest libraries in the state, and he developed an enormous intellectual appetite. He read widely with an emphasis on history and economics, and, curiously enough, became quite interested in the careers of Napoleon and Jefferson. His other pursuits included fruit-growing experiments, the invention of a grain separator, and travel. In 1874 Larrabee sold the Brick City Mills and traveled in Europe and Palestine.⁹ He also traveled extensively in the United States.

In his home community of Clermont, William Larrabee was a respected citizen. He was a liberal supporter of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches and of the local school. Prior to 1867 he had been a member of the Clermont school board, and much later, in 1912, he and his wife presented as a gift to the Clermont community a huge stone school building which was valued at \$100,000.¹⁰

Iowa underwent vast changes during William Larrabee's early business career. The population grew by leaps and bounds, due to the attraction of the fertile prairie lands of Iowa, the coming of the railroads, and the general expansion of business opportunities. In 1854 the state population was only 326,500, and Larrabee's home county, Fayette, was a mere 5,142. But in 1867, on the eve of his political adventure, the state's population had grown to 902,317 and Fayette County's had reached 14,992.¹¹ This influx of population meant more farms, more businesses, and, in general, more problems.

One of the major problems of this young agrarian state was transportation. Increased population and productivity caused a general agitation among Iowans for railroad construction. If railroads could be built in Iowa,

⁸ Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, Nov. 22, 1885. (Hereafter cited as *Des Moines Register*.)

⁹ *Idem*; *Senate Journal*, 1913, 1136 (containing memorial address by William S. Kenyon, a personal friend of Larrabee's); *The National Cyclopedic of American Biography* (New York, 1901), 11:433.

¹⁰ *Dictionary of American Biography*, 11:6-7.

¹¹ *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census, 1836-1880* (Des Moines, 1883), 197.

farmers and manufacturers could distribute their products within the state, and, what was even more important, compete with their Eastern neighbors. "Railroads were demanded at once and at any price."¹²

From 1853 to the end of the Civil War, railroad building had moved slowly. The first survey had been made in the fall of 1852, but by July of 1856 only sixty-seven miles of road had been constructed. The major difficulties were that the people of the new state did not have sufficient capital to finance construction, and that the Eastern capitalists were hesitant to invest.¹³ Also, the war years had put a stop to all railroad construction for a time.

In order to attract Eastern capital, the Iowa legislature had sought congressional land grants, the first coming on May 15, 1856. Eventually, over twenty-five land grants were given.¹⁴ All told, the total number of acres of land granted by Congress to aid in the construction of Iowa railroads was over 4,000,000.¹⁵ While these land grants were somewhat in the nature of donations, the legislatures were careful to include within the grants sections subjecting the railroads to the rules and regulations of the General Assemblies. But generally speaking, these early legislatures were most generous to the railroads, and the railroads reciprocated by a distribution of free passes.¹⁶

By 1867, 1,283 miles of railroad had been built in Iowa. Yet no connecting railroad line had been built in Larrabee's Fayette County. The reason that this county had been slighted was twofold. First, it was unfavorably suited for railroad connections, since it was almost entirely agrarian. Secondly, and more important, it had had some bad experiences in its early dealings with the railroads.

The 1856 land grant had provided for four railroads in Iowa, crossing the state from east to west. The legislative memorial had requested that one of these roads start at McGregor in northern Iowa. However, the four lines

¹² Ivan L. Pollock, *History of Economic Legislation in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1918), 36.

¹³ William Larrabee, *The Railroad Question* (Chicago, 1893), 319; Pollock, *History of Economic Legislation in Iowa*, 36.

¹⁴ Earl Samuel Beard, "Railroads in Iowa, 1865-1875: A Study in Attitudes" (unpublished M. A. thesis, State University of Iowa, June, 1950), 70-74.

¹⁵ Larrabee, *Railroad Question*, 329; Roscoe L. Lokken, *Iowa Public Land Disposal* (Iowa City, 1942), 267.

¹⁶ Hobart C. Carr, "Early History of Iowa Railroads" (unpublished M. A. thesis, State University of Iowa, June, 1938), 36-7.

provided for started at Burlington, Davenport, Clinton, and Dubuque.¹⁷ The northernmost of these roads would thus pass south of Fayette County, instead of crossing it, as a road from McGregor would have done. This was a heavy blow to the people of Fayette.

Another serious problem arose in 1856 when the projected McGregor, St. Peters & Missouri River Railroad Company proposed a road west from McGregor to the Missouri River with a branch running northwest to Minnesota. The company "raised and expended in lands and money over three hundred thousand dollars, two-thirds of this amount having been contributed by the people of Fayette county, and the south half of Chickasaw county."¹⁸ The plan of this railroad company was to build to Postville in Allamakee County, where there was to be a point of separation. A Missouri River branch was to continue by way of Clermont and West Union, and a Minnesota branch was to continue northwest toward and beyond Calmar.

Construction was begun and extended to Postville. From there, the construction forces began to build the Minnesota and Missouri River branches. The people of Fayette County eagerly anticipated the arrival of their first railroad. At the same time, they wanted a land grant for the Missouri River branch.

On May 12, 1864, a land grant was given to the year-old McGregor Western Railway Company, which was a reorganization of the old McGregor, St. Peters & Missouri Railroad Company. The newly organized road had previously contracted for construction of the railroad west to the Cedar River (Clermont and West Union being on this Western line) and agreed to complete the line as far west as West Union by July, 1865.

However, when the land grant was secured, the contract was changed and the construction company undertook a railroad to Austin, Minnesota, following the Minnesota route of the old McGregor, St. Peters & Missouri. Thus, no railroad was built south on the land granted to the company by Congress. As things stood, only twenty miles of railroad extended south from Postville. A good deal of animosity was aroused between the people of Fayette County and the McGregor Western Railway Company. The Fayette County forces contended that the state legislature should transfer this land to a company which would fulfill the terms of the land grant.

¹⁷ Lokken, *Iowa Public Land Disposal*, 238-9.

¹⁸ William Larrabee and Edward M. Bill, *Minority Report of the Committee on Railroads on Senate Files No. 140-170* (Des Moines, 1868), 4.

Under these conditions, William Larrabee was elected to the State Senate from Fayette County in 1867. His job was to serve his county's interests by securing measures that would improve the condition of transportation. He summarized his position: "As to my official course in the state senate, I can only say that I represented a district that was in great need of railways, and I favored the measures that were designed to encourage their construction."¹⁹

From 1868 to 1872 the young Senator from Clermont was eminently successful in improving the rapidity of railroad construction in Fayette County and in Iowa in general. His leadership became pronounced in the general sessions of the Iowa Senate, as well as in the influential Railroads and Ways and Mean committees.

Larrabee's earliest legislative effort was made on January 23, 1868, when the Senate adopted his resolution stating:

That the Judiciary Committee be and are hereby instructed to inquire and report to the Senate whether any additional legislation is necessary to enable counties, by contribution or loan of their credit, to aid in the construction of railroads therein, and if so, that they report a bill for that purpose.

The outcome of this resolution was the passage of an act to enable townships and incorporated cities and towns to aid in the construction of railroads by levying a maximum of a 5 per cent tax on assessed property.²⁰ This law was a great boost to the railroad aspirations of the northern counties of Iowa.

Larrabee's attitude and actions in the Iowa Senate evidenced a degree of cautiousness, probably the result of the dealings with railroads in his home county. His first railroad bill illustrates this point:

Senate File 221. A bill for an act to authorize the Governor to appoint a board of commissioners to investigate as to whether railroads discriminate against the trade and commerce of the state in the adjustment of their tariffs and freights.

Furthermore, on February 3, 1868, Larrabee's attitude was revealed in his resolution that the Committee on Ways and Means study the need of legislation to enforce collection of delinquent railroad taxes.²¹

¹⁹ *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, quoted in *Council Bluffs Daily Nonpareil*, Jan. 18, 1888.

²⁰ *Senate Journal*, 1868, 86; *Laws of Iowa*, 1868, Chap. 48.

²¹ *Senate Journal*, 1868, 137, 435.

During the 1870 session, Larrabee again was ambivalent in his relationship with the railroads. On March 21 he submitted a bill quite similar to the 5 per cent taxation law of the previous session, the only difference being that his bill contained a section placing the control of the railroads in regard to the management and charges for freight and passengers in the hands of the General Assembly of Iowa. This bill passed both houses with minor alterations and became law on April 12, 1870. Again, during the 1872 session, Larrabee submitted a bill stating that the railroads should be taxed in the same manner as individuals. This bill, however, was tabled upon recommendation of the Ways and Means Committee.²²

All of these steps in William Larrabee's early legislative activities seem to illustrate that his original attitude toward the railroads was not subservient, as some of his critics later charged. The Senator from Clermont seemed to be striving for two things. First, he wanted more railroads for his county and his state; secondly, he wanted to protect the citizenry from the power of the railroad companies.

The first goal was progressively achieved. By 1870 the railroad mileage in Iowa had reached 2,683 miles. Four great railroad lines crossed the state from east to west. And on August 14, 1872, the first iron rail of the Burlington, Cedar Rapids & Milwaukee Railroad Company had connected Clermont with Buchanan County.²³ The second goal was much more difficult. The expansion of railroad mileage in Iowa brought a parallel increase of power. Now the railroads would be even more assertive and influential. The roads which were being built were largely financed and managed by persons outside of the state. These things were to bring new problems to the young state, new problems which would take considerable time and experience to understand.

The financial panic of 1873 brought trouble to Iowa, and the Iowa farmers were among those hurt first. The price of agricultural products dropped, while transportation rates remained about the same.

Meanwhile, the Granger Movement made rapid strides in the state.²⁴ The Patrons of Husbandry, or the Grange, as this farmers' social organization was more popularly known, championed the cause of the oppressed

²² *Laws of Iowa, 1870*, Chap. 102; *Senate Journal, 1872*, 217, 392.

²³ *The History of Fayette County, Iowa . . .* (Chicago, 1878), 410.

²⁴ Mildred Throne, "The Grange in Iowa, 1868-1875," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 47:289-324 (October, 1949).

farmers. Members of the Grange considered freight rates too high; their antirailroad attitude was intensified by the railroad practices of favoring certain places, particularly competitive points, with lower rates. The Grangers allied themselves with the strong Mississippi River town forces who, since the 1850's, had challenged preferential rate discrimination. The river-town merchants and shippers had been forced to pay for railroad charges from Chicago to their ports plus the charges to the interior markets. The total cost was usually higher than the long-haul charge given by the railroads to the Chicago buyers.²⁵ All of this resentment was fanned by a general conviction that the absentee owners of capital and their managers were only interested in the dividends which they could reap from the Western shippers.²⁶

And so it was not surprising that the Iowa Granges numbered almost 2,000, with about 100,000 members, by 1874. When the State Grange's fourth annual convention met in Des Moines in December, 1873, a resolution was passed declaring that the state had the right to establish passenger fares and freight rates. The convention also appointed a committee of twelve, which was to memorialize the General Assembly on this subject and to indicate the kind of bill that would meet the approval of the Grange.²⁷

William Larrabee was a member of the Senate of the 1874 legislature which met to deal with the railroad problem. On February 2 he entered a bill "to protect the people against the abuses of unjust discrimination of railroads, express, and telegraph companies." This bill was eventually incorporated into an omnibus bill, known as the "Granger Law," which was approved on March 23 under the title: "An Act to Establish Reasonable Maximum Rates of charges for the transportation of Freight and Passengers on the Different Railroads in this State."²⁸ This new law, in its final form, confined itself to establishing an official classification of railroads, fixing maximum rates, creating fines, and prohibiting discrimination between individuals.

Senator Larrabee, although a friend of the Grangers, voted against this

²⁵ George H. Miller, "Origins of the Iowa Granger Law," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 40:660-80 (March, 1954).

²⁶ Frank H. Dixon, *State Railroad Control With a History of Its Development in Iowa* (New York, 1896), 24.

²⁷ Solon Justus Buck, *The Granger Movement* (Cambridge, 1913), 170; Throne, "Granger Movement in Iowa," 298-9.

²⁸ *Senate Journal*, 1874, 65; *Laws of Iowa*, 1874, Chap. 68.

so-called "Granger Law." His vote seems to have been based upon the conviction that the bill, as such, would have little positive effect in curbing the abuses of the railroads, a position later made clear in his book, *The Railroad Question*.²⁹

Although he opposed the act, Larrabee did favor its spirit. He wrote:

The Iowa law was imperfect in detail, and yet its enactment proved one of the greatest legislative achievements in the history of the State. It demonstrated to the people their ability to correct by earnestness and perseverance the most far-reaching public abuses and led to an emphatic judicial declaration of the common-law principle that railroads are highways and as such are subject to any legislative control which may be deemed necessary for the public welfare.³⁰

Larrabee's reference to "an emphatic judicial declaration of the common-law principle" refers to the period of 1875 and 1876 when the railroads tested the constitutionality of the Iowa Granger Law of 1874. In March of 1877 the problem was finally settled when the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that it was within the province of a legislature to prescribe intrastate transportation rates.³¹

Having been defeated in the courts, the railroads endeavored to make this Granger Law odious to the people of Iowa. They proceeded to charge the maximum rates of the law which were often higher than those charged previously. In defense of this action, they would only affirm that they were adhering to the letter of the law. Another of the railroads' efforts to side-step the law was to charge double rates, coupling the interstate and intrastate rates. They also laid off some of their employees, complaining that the new law was ruinous to the best interests of the roads and the public alike.

When the 1878 legislative session convened, the railroads presented their case. Without a doubt their arguments were instrumental in the repeal of

²⁹ Larrabee, *Railroad Question*, 332.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 333.

³¹ This principle was laid down in a series of cases including *Munn v. Illinois*, 94 U. S. Reports, 113; *Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railway Company v. Iowa*, *ibid.*, 155; *Peik v. Chicago and North-Western Railway Company*, *ibid.*, 164. For the Iowa case, see George H. Miller, "Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company v. Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 54:289-312 (October, 1956).

the 1874 law. But there were other factors which also must be taken into consideration in attempting to interpret the final repeal law.³²

First of all, the Granger movement was declining. The Iowa farmers had recovered from the 1873 depression and were eager to have transportation improved. The 1873-1874 period had caused a sharp decline in railroad construction and had frightened Eastern capital. Then, too, the arguments of the strengthened railroad campaign were becoming more convincing. This ineffectiveness of the complex 1874 law was felt in agrarian areas.

Another faction, under the leadership of Senator Larrabee, felt that the Granger Law was largely inadequate. According to their thinking, "the law of 1874 had not been enforced, in spirit at least, and [they] preferred a commission without a schedule of maximum rates to a schedule without a commission to enforce it." Larrabee, in later explaining this view, fully justified the need for an effective enforcement agency.³³

Consequently, after much debate in both houses, the Granger Law was repealed on March 23, 1878. Larrabee, this time, voted with the ayes in a close Senate vote, 29 to 21. The repeal law, however, kept three sections of the Granger Law which concerned the classification of the railroads, maximum passenger rates, and annual statements by each road which were to be given to the Governor. The repeal law also created a three-man appointive commission with advisory powers. The commission was empowered with a general supervision over all intrastate railroads, to inquire into any neglect or violation of state laws, to examine the books and documents of the roads, to investigate complaints, to require annual reports from each road, and to provide for the Governor an annual report on the Iowa railroad situation.³⁴

Larrabee's leadership in the repeal of the Granger Law and in the agitation for an advisory railroad commission during the 1878 legislature seemed to be generally acceptable to Fayette County voters, since he was returned to the 1880 session with a convincing 1,009 majority.³⁵ Except for an unsuccessful attempt to attain the Republican gubernatorial nomination in

³² Mildred Throne, "The Repeal of the Granger Law, 1878," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 51:97-131 (July, 1953). This account presents excellent background material on this subject, especially on the phase concerning the struggle between big and little business.

³³ Larrabee, *Railroad Question*, 335; Buck, *Granger Movement*, 178.

³⁴ *Laws of Iowa, 1878*, Chap. 77.

³⁵ *Des Moines Register*, Jan. 14, 1886.

1881, Larrabee devoted all his political energies to his work in the Iowa Senate until 1885.

From 1880 to 1884 the Iowa legislature continued its control over the railroads, although, comparatively speaking, with much less vigor than that of the 1874 and 1878 sessions. The only act of significance during this period came in the 1884 legislature when a bill passed, strengthening the Board of Railroad Commissioners.³⁶

In its annual reports, the Board of Railroad Commissioners expressed satisfaction with the operation of the commissioner system. It fervently and optimistically declared that the informal procedure employed in the meetings was an effective mechanism for solving the transportation ills of the state. It stated in explicit terms that the railroads were accepting the new system and that the railroads had complied with the commissioners' advice and recommendations in nearly every case.³⁷

However, even in its own annual reports, the Board seemed to outline a pattern that spelled trouble. It admitted that the railroads were expanding at an astounding rate, growing from 4,157.15 miles in 1878 to 7,249.25 miles in 1884. In 1884, of the 25,900 stockholders of Iowa railroads, only 740 were Iowans. The 1878 report described the leading railroads as being directed by Easterners. Only one Iowan was included among the eleven directors of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, while there were no Iowans on either the Chicago & North Western or the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific boards of directors. This had been a point of great irritation during the Granger Movement, and now it again lurked menacingly.³⁸

Then, too, the Board expressed dissatisfaction with some of the railroad practices. First of all, the railroads were submitting their reports in a vague and inaccurate form. Coupled with this, the Board admitted that it had only advisory powers and that on one important decision it had been disobeyed. It also felt that secret rates were being given and that unjust discrimination between towns was being practiced by the railroads. But by the very nature of the Commission, it could deal with only 30 per cent of the total traffic in Iowa, those cases concerning intrastate traffic.³⁹

Finally, the experience of the Granger Movement had illustrated to many

³⁶ *Laws of Iowa, 1884*, Chap. 133.

³⁷ *Report, 1879, 72; 1880, 3, 4, 154; 1884, 5, 8; 1885, 32.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1878, 155, 192, 223; 1880, 4, 1884, 5, 116.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1878, 61; 1880, 4, 179; 1885, 21, 35, 37, 42, 44.

Iowans that in the last analysis the railroads were subject to the will of the people. Certainly this opinion was not conceded by the financiers and managers of the railroads in Iowa. They affirmed that their companies were private property which could be controlled only by private interests.

As the railroads grew in size and in influence, the Iowa farmers and businessmen watched with growing concern. How far would the railroads go in exercising their power? The distance between the people of Iowa and the railroads was becoming pronounced. What was to be the outcome of this conflict? In essence, the problem resolved itself into a question of philosophy. Which was to prevail, the public welfare, or the private interests?

The period from 1885 to 1888 involved a change in William Larrabee's attitude toward the railroads. By 1888 Larrabee had moved from cautiousness to crusade. To many of his friends and enemies, this change seemed somewhat radical and had a suddenness that shocked. Perhaps they had not understood his background or perhaps they had misinterpreted his actions in the Iowa Senate. Whatever the cause of their mistakes, they nevertheless considered his actions as out of character. What was this spark, this change, that was to cause the agrarian capitalist of little Clermont to oppose the powerful railroad capitalists of New York, Boston, and Chicago?

During the summer of 1885 the Iowa Republicans were beginning to consider various persons for their candidate in the coming gubernatorial election. The problem was to select a strong candidate, and yet one who would be acceptable to all interests. This feeling was based on the fear that the Republican cause was languishing. In 1884 Iowa Republicans had seen Blaine lose the presidency to Cleveland, and, in addition, the Democrats and Greenbackers had secured four of the eleven Iowa seats in Congress. When the Iowa Republicans began to look for a winning candidate, Larrabee was favored because his activity in the antirailroad movement had won enough favorable notice to make him the logical choice of his party.

By August the greater number of the Republican county conventions had been instructed to support William Larrabee of Clermont.⁴⁰ When the Republican State Convention assembled in Des Moines on August 26, 1885, the prevailing sentiment was in favor of Larrabee, although Captain John A. T. Hull and Judge Josiah Given were seriously considered. The next

⁴⁰ Marshalltown *Weekly Times-Republican*, Aug. 20, 1885. According to this source, 190 delegates were instructed to support Larrabee, 80 for Hull, 65 for Given, and 40 were uninstructed.

day an informal ballot was taken, Larrabee receiving 703½ votes and Hull, 374. On the first formal ballot, Larrabee was proclaimed the Republican nominee, and the convention was "done with a rush."⁴¹ The Republican platform was concerned largely with tariff and temperance, although it did contain a section recommending an Interstate Commerce Commission. The Democrats met in Cedar Rapids on August 19, 1885, and selected Charles E. Whiting, a Monona County farmer, as their candidate to oppose Larrabee for Governor.

The campaign that followed was somewhat heated, although both parties had similar platforms. The focus centered upon the personalities of the two candidates, and the result was a good deal of mudslinging by each camp. Larrabee was characterized as an unscrupulous capitalist and Whiting was denounced as an unpatriotic Copperhead. But even these efforts had their limitations, since neither candidate proved to be very colorful. This is amply illustrated by the fact that neither man had served in the army. The Republicans did not waste time in explaining that Larrabee, contrary to Whiting, had made an effort to enlist but had been rejected because of imperfect vision.

One result of the campaign was that the Republicans throughout the state soon learned what manner of man had been nominated as their candidate for Governor. The most obvious discovery was that Larrabee was not a dynamic orator of the Dolliver-Wilson-Hepburn cut but instead had a businesslike and sincere manner. For example, the Cedar Falls *Gazette* reviewed one of Larrabee's talks in its community by saying:

Senator Larrabee, while making no claims as a speaker, holds his hearers to close attention, all that he says being ful [sic] of facts, figures, and information, evidenling [sic] a thorough acquaintance with the public interests of our State, and giving assurance that in his hands they would be safely and wisely managed.⁴²

When the heat of the campaign had subsided, the final count proved to be close, Larrabee receiving 175,504 votes and Whiting, 168,525. Thus "The Safe Man" from Clermont was elected as the twelfth Governor of Iowa.⁴³

⁴¹ Des Moines *Register*, Aug. 28, 1885; Marshalltown *Weekly Times-Republican*, Aug. 27, 1885.

⁴² Cedar Falls *Gazette*, Oct. 16, 1885.

⁴³ *Census of Iowa . . . 1885* (Des Moines, 1885), 398; Des Moines *Register*, Sept. 6, 1885.

On January 14, 1886, over five thousand Iowans braved a blizzard and assembled in the capitol building in Des Moines to see their new Governor take the oath of office and deliver his inaugural address. The Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, the voice of the Iowa Republicans, described the change of executives as having attracted little public interest: "It is an important change, and yet in the simple forms of Republican government, and under the sway of the simple ways in Iowa, the change is made so quietly as scarcely to attract public attention." But this same newspaper also reviewed the Governor's mild inaugural address in terms which were to have significance: "It is the message of an independent and fearless Governor and plainly that of a man who is going to use the power of his office solely for the public good."⁴⁴

During the first year of William Larrabee's administration, the railroad problem lay nearly dormant. However, there was some discussion in the press concerning the abolition of the free pass and the establishment of an elective Board of Railroad Commissioners. These matters were also agitated in the General Assembly of 1886, but the reformers of the House of Representatives could not penetrate the conservatism of the Senate.

The House was especially concerned about the formation of an elective Board. The seven bills dealing with that subject which were submitted in the House were formed into a single substitute bill which was passed by a convincing majority. However, when this bill reached the Senate, it was unfavorably received by the Railroad Committee and thus never considered by the general body. The Senate had two bills favoring an elective commission, but one was defeated and the other was never discussed.⁴⁵

After the General Assembly adjourned, the growing animosity toward the railroads began to be more and more apparent in the Iowa press. For example, during the national elections in November, the Marshalltown *Weekly Times-Republican* prophetically noted:

When the election is over, the railroad atmosphere is going to be warmed up in the West. Too much territory is at the mercy of the railroads, and too many western towns that should be growing and prosperous are afflicted with the dry rot of corporation discrimination that drives everything to pooled centers. If there is no other remedy, the people of Iowa, at least, are in a temper to apply

⁴⁴ Des Moines *Register*, Jan. 14, 15, 1886.

⁴⁵ *House Journal*, 1886, 442-3; *Senate Journal*, 1886, 739, 816.

a little of that policy called tit for tat. We have a legislative session in a year from now.⁴⁶

The problem of railroad discrimination took a new twist when Iowa's Governor became involved in a complaint against the railroads. On December 6, 1886, Governor Larrabee, on behalf of the Institute for the Feeble Minded at Glenwood, filed a complaint with the Board of Railroad Commissioners charging that the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad was practicing unjust discrimination. The Governor alleged that this railroad company charged \$1.80 per ton on carload lots of coal being shipped from Cleveland, in Lucas County, to Glenwood, and yet it only charged \$1.25 per ton on coal shipped from the same point to Council Bluffs, a distance nearly thirty miles farther.⁴⁷

According to A. B. Funk, a personal friend of the Governor, this incident had a great influence upon Larrabee's attitude toward railroad reform. In reviewing the Governor's concern over this incident, Funk stated:

[Larrabee] was a rare business executive, giving strict attention to affairs of government. Early in his administration he thought he had evidence that the Institution for Feeble-Minded Children at Glenwood was using too much money. Dr. Powell, the superintendent, was called in conference. He plead in self-defense that most of the apparently extravagant expenditure was on account of excessive freight rates on coal. This was due, he said, to the fact that the Burlington Railroad charged the through rate to Council Bluffs, plus the local rate back to Glenwood. The Governor assured the superintendent that this was so evidently a mistake that it would be easy of correction. The Iowa Burlington man in authority was an especial friend and he would have him fix it right away. Gentle reminder to the corporation friend brought the reply that the rate was logical and proper and generally all right. Somewhat astonished, the Governor went again with further explanation when he was curtly informed that the charge was in accordance with regulations and would not be changed.⁴⁸

President Charles E. Perkins of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy answered Governor Larrabee's charges, affirming that the freight charges were fair, since the Glenwood route offered little profit to the company. He also

⁴⁶ Marshalltown *Weekly Times-Republican*, Nov. 4, 1886.

⁴⁷ Report, 1887, 625.

⁴⁸ A. B. Funk, "Some High Lights in Earlier Legislation," *Annals of Iowa* (3rd ser.), 18:585-6 (April, 1933).

pointed out that the competition among the various railroads in Council Bluffs necessitated a lower rate and that the railroads were enormous assets to the state.⁴⁹

Governor Larrabee challenged Perkins' position, stating that the fifty-five cent Glenwood-Council Bluffs margin was quite remunerative to the Burlington since previously the Rock Island had hauled coal from Colfax, Iowa, to Council Bluffs at \$1.25 per ton and had furnished a rebate of twenty-five cents per ton while making a fine profit, although this route was thirty miles longer than the Glenwood route. He also stated that in 1884 the Iowa railroads were averaging 1.251 cents per ton on all kinds of freight and that this figure was considerably less than the Glenwood average, which was 1.333 cents. He concluded his answer by saying: "The managers of great corporations cannot afford to continue prosecutions of such unjust discrimination. The sense of justice in intelligent minds rebels against it, and nothing can be gained to the corporations or the public by delay in such cases."⁵⁰

The Board of Railroad Commissioners favored the Governor's viewpoint and recommended that the railroad revise its coal rates. This decision led to a serious mistake on the part of the Burlington Railroad. Instead of lowering its Glenwood charges, it raised the Council Bluffs rate to \$1.98 per ton. This move incensed the Governor, and on March 7, 1887, he sent a letter to the Board notifying them of this rate increase. Three days later he mailed the Commissioners a list of the coal freight overcharges at Glenwood, all totaling \$3,326.40. He then demanded a hearing on the case.⁵¹

During the hearing, which was held on April 9, 1887, Governor Larrabee not only aired his grievances against the Burlington, but also against the Board of Railroad Commissioners. He was angered that the Commissioners had not made a more complete study of the rate issue and that he had to defend himself against an experienced group of lawyers who had been hired by the railroad. He especially was irritated because there were not sufficient financial means to cope with the powerful railroads. He charged that the Commissioners had been remiss in testing rate violations by the standards of the law of 1878.⁵²

⁴⁹ *Report, 1887*, 625-6.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 626.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 631-2.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 647, 648.

The railroads soon realized their mistake in arousing the wrath of the Iowa Governor. In April their representatives began to besiege the executive office in an endeavor to appease Governor Larrabee, who was now demanding that the railroads pay their due proportion of the taxes for 1886 and 1887. But the die was cast, and the man became resolute in his reform advocacy. The Marshalltown *Weekly Times-Republican* summarized the Governor's new stand by writing:

They know that they have met a man that passes, favors at the polls, or elsewhere, can not bribe, and to whom they dare not proffer any direct compensation for executive favors. The period for trifling with this great wrong has ceased, and the man to call the halt sits in the governor's chair at the new capitol.⁵³

One major problem during this period was the failure of the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 to bring relief from railroad abuses. In fact, the new law brought increased hardships to the farmers, jobbers, and manufacturers of Iowa. When the Cullom Committee on Interstate Commerce from the United States Senate held an investigation at Des Moines on July 19 and 20, 1885, many witnesses from various interests in Iowa testified in favor of a national commission.⁵⁴ This committee then returned to Washington and on January 18, 1886, submitted a report and a bill favoring an interstate commerce law. After over a year of debate and amendment, Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act which was then signed by the President on February 4, 1887. The Iowans were most concerned with the law's effect on their freight rates, since nearly 70 per cent of the Iowa traffic was engaged in interstate commerce. The new law required that each railroad make public its rate schedules, permitted no advance in rates, fares, and charges once established, except on ten days' notice; and made it unlawful for common carriers to charge either more or less than the scheduled rates.⁵⁵

The railroads, interpreting the new law to the great dissatisfaction of the shippers of Iowa, lowered their through rates but raised their local rates. This meant that the farmers, manufacturers, and jobbers could not protect

⁵³ Marshalltown *Weekly Times-Republican*, Apr. 7, 1887.

⁵⁴ *Report of the Senate Select Committee on Interstate Commerce, Senate Report No. 46, 49 Cong., 1 sess. (1886), 943-1078.*

⁵⁵ Truman C. Bigham, *Transportation: Principles and Problems* (New York, 1946), 151-4.

their interests from outside competition. Since the through rates had been lowered, out-of-state firms could send their products to Iowa cheaply and easily compete in the local markets. The local shippers' grievances became even more magnified when the railroads began to show preference to such large shipping centers as Chicago by giving lower rates and rebates. This meant that the Iowa shippers would have difficulty in both the intrastate and interstate trade.⁵⁶

Governor Larrabee, who championed the rights of the Iowa shippers and businessmen, considered the railroads' actions as clearly abusive:

Success greatly emboldened the railway companies. Discriminations seemed to increase in number and gravity. At many points in the western part of the State freight rates to Chicago were from 50 to 75 per cent higher than those from points in Kansas and Nebraska. A car of wheat hauled only across the State paid twice as much freight as another hauled twice the distance from its point of origin to Chicago. Minnesota flour was hauled a distance of 300 miles for a less rate than Iowa flour was carried 100 miles.⁵⁷

The actions of the interstate railroads created dissension in such Iowa cities as Des Moines, Marshalltown, Cedar Rapids, and Dubuque. They were "Ready for Rebellion," since they now felt that they were helpless in competing with Chicago, Milwaukee, or St. Louis. Some of the Iowa newspapers came to the defense of the local shippers by denouncing the railroads as "capitalistic Caesars." For example, the Cedar Rapids *Republican* stated:

Iowa's one great disappointment in the course of the Iowa railroads, in their ostensible efforts to conform to the Interstate Commerce Law, is the refusal of the roads to give rates between Iowa points that are approximately fair and just, as compared with the rates given Chicago to Iowa points.⁵⁸

The press reviewed the transportation problem with an eye to reform. Their suggestions included a special session of the Iowa legislature and the preparation of firm measures in handling the railroads when the next legis-

⁵⁶ Dixon, *State Railroad Control*, 135-8. For example, this source contains a table prepared by the Dubuque shippers which describes the discrimination by the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul RR against Dubuque in favor of Eastern dealers as averaging 22 1/8 cents per hundredweight on first class freight.

⁵⁷ Larrabee, *Railroad Question*, 337.

⁵⁸ Marshalltown *Weekly Times-Republican*, Apr. 21, 1887; Cedar Falls *Gazette*, July 15, 1887; Cedar Rapids *Republican*, quoted in Des Moines *Register*, Apr. 27, 1887.

lative session convened. The Dubuque *Herald* summarized the reform agitation of the Iowa press by affirming:

The papers all through Iowa are unanimous in their showing up of the railroads, and they carried public sentiments with them. They spoke freely that if the railroads persisted in their discrimination against Iowa the state legislature should take the matter in hand.

The press also strongly supported Governor Larrabee's position. While scolding the railroads, they called the Governor the protector of the people. "Governor Larrabee has taken a strong and decided stand in favor of the people. Every citizen should sustain him in his position," wrote the Cedar Falls *Gazette*. The Carroll *Sentinel* felt that "It has been apparent for some time that the governor is righteously indignant." The Marshalltown paper praised the Governor: "Go it, Governor Larrabee! The people of the state are back of you."⁵⁹

Thus, the Interstate Commerce Law created a serious problem in Iowa — one that was to alienate further the sympathies of many Iowans. Perhaps the general attitude was best summarized by the words of the Dubuque *Times*:

The magnitude of this question is understood by only a few. That it is the coming issue in the State, there seems to be no question. The people of Iowa are paying a fearful tribute every year to the giant corporations controlling the railroads in Iowa.⁶⁰

By 1887 the Iowa farmers were beginning to feel the pinch of hard times again. Farm prices had declined, and increasing competition from regions west of Iowa, as well as from Europe, was being felt. In 1881 corn had been forty-four cents a bushel, but by 1889 it had dropped to nineteen cents; wheat had slipped from \$1.06 to sixty-three cents a bushel during the same period; and the market prices for cattle had declined 30 per cent between 1885 and 1890.⁶¹

But the farmers' troubles were only beginning. Mortgages during the ten-

⁵⁹ Dubuque *Herald*, quoted in Marshalltown *Weekly Times-Republican*, June 2, 1887; Carroll *Sentinel*, quoted in *ibid.*, May 5, 1887; Cedar Falls *Gazette*, July 15, 1887.

⁶⁰ Cedar Falls *Gazette*, July 15, 1887.

⁶¹ Herman Clarence Nixon, "The Populist Movement in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 24:8 (January, 1926).

year period ending in 1889 were worth around \$440,000,000 and the interest rates were extremely high, the most prevalent being 8 per cent. There was also a good deal of conflict arising over land ownership by non-Iowans, especially by railroads. A good deal of wrath existed between the settlers of western Iowa and the railroads over land titles. The state experienced a serious drought, and the influx of large numbers of noxious insects, including grasshoppers and chinch bugs.⁶²

Amidst the agrarian depression in Iowa, the railroads grew and prospered. Between 1880 and 1890, rail mileage went up 60 per cent. By 1889 the income of the Iowa railroads was over \$13,000,000, this sum being one-third of the total corn crop, \$3,000,000 more than the value of the whole Iowa wheat crop, and one-sixth of the total cattle sales in the state. And yet, the railroads were paying less than one-tenth of the total tax assessments of the state, while the farmers were paying two-thirds.⁶³

The farmers looked upon this paradox with a growing suspicion, if not alarm. They reasoned that their troubles must be the outgrowth of the railroad prosperity. Thus their problem was to control the power of these corporations. But the Iowa railroads were not controlled nor owned by Iowans. By 1887 the stock of the state roads amounted to \$144,091,680, but Iowans owned a mere \$5,682,875 of this sum. As a result, farmers' organizations flourished notably. The Iowa Farmers' Alliance, the State Grange, and the Union Labor Party became the agrarian antimonopoly agents and gathered their forces for the state election in 1887. When the votes had been counted, the reforming farmers and their friends had won forty-nine of the one hundred seats in the Iowa House of Representatives alone.⁶⁴

The 1887 state gubernatorial campaign was much quieter than that of 1885. The Republicans had quickly renominated William Larrabee with "a splendid show of enthusiasm,"⁶⁵ and the Democrats had selected Major Thomas Jefferson Anderson of Knoxville. Both parties adopted similar platforms and both had large sections dealing with railroad regulation.

The Republican platform presented a clear example of the reform attitude that was evolving during that time:

⁶² *Ibid.*, 7-8; *Annual Report . . . Iowa State Agricultural Society . . . 1887* (Des Moines, 1888), 5.

⁶³ Nixon, "Populist Movement in Iowa," 10, 13.

⁶⁴ *Agricultural Society Report, 1887*, 8-9; Nixon, "Populist Movement in Iowa," 16-17, 36.

⁶⁵ *Des Moines Register*, Aug. 25, 1888.

The theory of public regulation and control of railways and other corporations, first enacted into law in this State, and by the State carried up to the approval of the Supreme Court of the United States, we maintain with increasing favor. We approve the principles of the interstate commerce law, and favor such amendments thereto as will make it still more protective of the interests of the people, and such State legislation as will apply its principles to this State. We further ask that the next legislature shall abolish the free pass in all its forms, and that it shall, after thorough and unsparing investigation, so revise and amend the laws forming the railroad code of the State as will secure to the people all possible protection from corporation monopoly and extortion, as will increase the efficiency and the usefulness of the Railway Commission, and as will secure all fair and possible reductions in freights and fares, believing that the first-class roads of the State can afford to reduce passenger fares to two cents a mile. We are opposed to all unjust discriminations between persons and places, and also to any railroad policy or legislation which will tend to injure our agricultural, industrial, or commercial interests at the expense of the cities and towns of our own state.

We approve of the state administration of public affairs in Iowa, and especially commend Governor Larrabee for his courageous defense of the people from the extortion of railway monopolies.⁶⁶

The election proved to be a convincing approval of Governor Larrabee's first administration, as well as of his advocacy of reform. He was re-elected by a majority of over 15,000, the count being 169,595 for Larrabee and 153,706 for Anderson.⁶⁷ However, a third party candidate, M. J. Cain, narrowed the total majority by polling 14,283 votes. It should be noted that the Democrats had also favored regulation of the railroads, and the large vote for their nominee should be construed as a further endorsement of this principle.

Now Larrabee was in the position to direct the forces for railroad reform. This time he had the support of the shippers, of the agrarian organizations, and of a reform legislature. This time the press supported his demands and promoted the public interest. The transition had ended and the full fury of a railroad crusade was about to begin.

The Governor's aggressiveness in dealing with the Iowa railroads was revealed early to the Twenty-second General Assembly in two forceful mes-

⁶⁶ *Appleton's Annual Encyclopedia* (New York, 1887), 12:393.

⁶⁷ *House Journal*, 1888, 51.

sages: the first, the biennial message presented on January 10, 1888; and the second, the inaugural address given two days later on January 12, 1888.

In his biennial message, Governor Larrabee made three recommendations to the General Assembly in regard to the control of the Iowa railway traffic. He urged "the passage of a law destroying the pass system root and branch," a maximum passenger rate of two cents a mile, and a law "fixing reasonable maximum rates of freight, with the Commissioners authorized to reduce such rates whenever they thought they were too high."

He also stated that the railroad companies had failed to furnish sufficient freight cars for the shippers of northwestern Iowa and that this problem had caused a good deal of hardship in that region. He added that he favored either an elective Board of Railroad Commissioners or one that was nominated by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate, and that he preferred a state-paid commission instead of a railroad-paid commission as was the present practice. He concluded by declaring that the railroads are public corporations subject to the legal control of the state.

Larrabee also mentioned in his biennial message some revealing railroad statistics which indicated why there was some concern about the power of the Iowa railroads. He reported that the railroad companies had received 4,393,436.78 acres of public land through state donation, or about one-eighth of the entire acreage of the state. By January 1, 1888, the railroads had 8,263 miles in operation; employed 29,078 people in the state; had spent \$261,747,194.44 on the Iowa railroads; and had reported net earnings of \$13,376,739.91 for 1887.⁶⁸

The biennial message was a firm and concise statement of policy by the Governor, but it was a mere preface to the inaugural address which was given two days later. Both must have made a strong appeal to the Iowa legislators who had arrived in Des Moines to "tackle the freight-rate problem." According to the *Marshalltown Daily Times-Republican*, the legislators received the inaugural address with more than ordinary respect: "The poorest kind of a reader, speaking to an immense audience in the vast rotunda of the capitol, Governor Larrabee was listened to with an almost

⁶⁸ Benjamin F. Shambaugh (ed.), *The Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa* (7 vols., Iowa City, 1903-1905), 6:69-75 *passim*. The *prima-facie* principle means that the rates established by the Board of Railroad Commissioners shall be considered reasonable in the courts until the railroad companies have proved them otherwise.

breathless attention by all who could catch the faintest sound of his voice."⁶⁹

The Governor's inaugural address not only reviewed the railroad problems, but also contained a pronouncement of his political philosophy. Perhaps the Glenwood incident had given Larrabee an opportunity to construct a refutation of the arguments of the railroad lawyers and of the railroad officials.

Larrabee began by reviewing briefly the railroad history of Iowa. He discussed the Granger Law and the railroads' efforts for its repeal, although "a majority of our people regarded it, upon the whole, as just and wholesome, and desired an amendment of several of its provisions rather than its repeal." He mentioned the repeal of the law and the establishment of a commission which the railroads sought to use to their advantage in adjusting controversies. The railroads had received donations of public funds and land for construction, he said, and they had violated the trust and faith of many Iowans by charging discriminatory rates through such arrangements as pooling, division of territory, and division of business. He cited the difference between locality and commodity rates, and the favor shown to certain shippers by special rates, rebates, and refunds. Then he directed his attack at the railroads' own defenses.

First, the Governor challenged the railroad position that they deserved the full reward for their services. He declared that they had exaggerated their case by their claim that they alone were responsible for the material progress of the United States. Challenging this belief, he claimed that the owners of the railroads actually were entitled to no more than the railroad inventors. The roads deserved liberal returns for their capital and enterprise, but if it is found that "similar roads could be constructed and equipped at a reduced cost, then their rates of transportation should be proportionately reduced."

Second, he attacked the railroad belief that a reduction in rates would necessitate an employee wage cut, by pointing out that railroad employees received a smaller percentage of the total earnings of the railroads than did the wage earners of other corporations. He illustrated this point by noting that the railroad employees received about one-third of the total railroad receipts, while farmers kept as profits about one-half of their total revenues.

⁶⁹ *Marshalltown Daily Times-Republican*, Jan. 7, 14, 1888.

Third, he attacked the railroads' contention that they were primarily private institutions. Larrabee believed that the corporations received their legal rights from the state and national governments. He said the railroads were involved in an intensely public commercial venture and should not be allowed to make their decisions without governmental control, adding that this ability of a few individuals desirous of profit to make decisions could result in dangerous consequences. Thus, even in the creation of rates, the state must have a hand. With their large financial resources, the railroads had a great deal of influence with the press and the politicians. With the growth of railroad power, the public must have protection from any abuses which might arise. Governor Larrabee summarized these three points in a bold political philosophy in which he took the side of the people against the railroad corporations.⁷⁰

The Iowa Republican press was divided in commenting upon the inaugural address. Republican newspapers in Marshalltown, Council Bluffs, Red Oak, and Cedar Falls stood firmly behind the Governor. The Cedar Falls *Gazette* declared: "The Governor is not far from right on this important matter. The time has come for a proper control of the immense tribute being levied upon the manufacturers and producers of Iowa, by railroad companies." Other Republican newspapers took an opposing view. The *What Cheer Patriot* spoke of Larrabee's inaugural address as the "tirade of a demagogue" and the Belle Plaine *Union* agreed that it "savors largely of blatant demagoguery." The most powerful Republican organ, James S. Clarkson's Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, which previously had backed Larrabee, shuddered at this "radical" position. Clarkson wrote:

The whole color and tone of the message on this subject are intense and exceedingly radical, and show more than public feeling and suggest a sense of personal animosity, based on fancied personal grievances.

We do not believe there are a dozen fair minded people in Iowa who will endorse this astounding utterance.⁷¹

Governor Larrabee replied to this charge of personal prejudice by saying: "I am liable to err in judgment, but I know that my official action has not been influenced in the least degree by personal feeling."⁷²

⁷⁰ Shambaugh (ed.), *Messages and Proclamations*, 6:94, 97, 104-105.

⁷¹ Cedar Falls *Gazette*, Jan. 20, 1888; *What Cheer Patriot*, Belle Plaine *Union*, quoted in Des Moines *Register*, Jan. 20, 1888; *ibid.*, Jan. 13, 1888.

⁷² Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, quoted in Council Bluffs *Daily Nonpareil*, Jan. 18, 1888.

To understand the reasons for Larrabee's strong indictment of the railroads, one must consider his background, his senatorial career, and the Glenwood incident, as well as the general antirailroad sentiment in Iowa. Perhaps no one reason can be assigned as the source of his viewpoint, but there still exists the fact that he expressed a new line of thought and the Iowa legislators listened.

That the Iowa legislature of 1888 was eager to deal with the railroad problem is well illustrated by the fact that forty-nine reform bills were introduced into the House of Representatives and that twenty-two were initiated in the Senate. Then, too, the antirailroad champions included such eminent Iowa personages as George L. Finn, Lafayette Young, J. H. Sweney, and F. D. Bayless in the Senate, and James G. Berryhill, L. W. Lewis, N. B. Holbrook, John F. Dayton, John T. Hamilton, John W. Luke, James A. Smith, John C. Hall, and Speaker W. H. Redman in the House.⁷³

This multiplicity of leadership brought on bothersome problems in the shaping of reform legislation. First, the many reform bills created a burden on the legislative process and slowed down any immediate action. Secondly, opinions differed as to what constituted a reform bill. Some legislators were concerned with outlawing the free pass, some with establishing maximum freight rates, some with establishing maximum passenger fares, and some with combinations of these controls. Finally, the reform movement had engendered a good deal of public interest. Floods of petitions widely differing in opinion were sent to the capitol, and many interested groups, including shippers, railroad employees, and railroad lobbyists, exerted a great deal of pressure upon the legislators. Lieutenant Governor Hull stated that he felt that little legislation could be accomplished because of the many reform bills and of the strong railroad lobby which was cleverly attempting "to imbue each member with the belief that his bill was the best one."⁷⁴

One Des Moines event which must have made a considerable impact upon the legislators was the Iowa Shippers Convention which met on January 26, 1888, just a few days after the convening of the General Assembly. This large convention, composed of Iowa jobbers, manufacturers, and businessmen, met to discuss the transportation question. Their sessions were also

⁷³ *House Journal*, 1888, 1058-9; *Senate Journal*, 1888, 1047; Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa . . .* (4 vols., New York, 1903), 3:150-51.

⁷⁴ Cedar Rapids *Gazette*, quoted in *Marshalltown Daily Times-Republican*, Feb. 1, 1888.

attended by seventeen State Senators, twelve State Representatives, members of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, and Governor Larrabee.⁷⁵

During the convention, the shippers heard speeches from their members and from state officials. Prominent among the addresses given was one by Governor Larrabee. The *Des Moines Register* said of Larrabee's talk:

[Larrabee] said that it was easy to understand why so many of the business men had come to this convention at this season, and it was evident that all present agreed that abuses did exist in the present railroad management in the State which need correcting. He urged that this convention be, so far as possible, harmonious and unanimous, and he had no doubt the legislators would profit by their counsel and advice.

Before the convention adjourned, its members accepted the majority report endorsing House File 19 of Representative Albert B. Cummins of Des Moines. This bill favored maximum freight rates and a \$500 fine if there was a violation of the prima-facie rate principle.⁷⁶

In the House of Representatives, where the reform movement was more pronounced, twelve bills were initiated on January 24, 1888. The leadership in this chamber came largely from A. B. Cummins and James G. Berryhill. The *Marshalltown Daily Times-Republican* facetiously described this leadership: "There is noticeable rivalry in the House between Berryhill and Cummins to see which shall introduce the largest number of anti-monopoly bills." In the Senate, only one bill was introduced in January.⁷⁷

February brought increased legislative activity, including the introduction of important bills, the influx of petitions, and the coming of the railroad lobbyists. On February 28 the House members had ironed out their differences on the various reform bills and passed House File 373, a product of the Committee on Railroads and Commerce, by a vote of 89 to 0. This bill, which was designed to prevent and punish unjust discrimination on passenger and freight rates and to strengthen the Board of Railroad Commissioners, was then sent to the Senate for consideration.⁷⁸

The petitions from interested farmers, railroad employees, and shippers were now reaching Des Moines in large numbers. The *Senate Journal* of

⁷⁵ *Marshalltown Daily Times-Republican*, Jan. 27, 1888.

⁷⁶ *Des Moines Register*, Jan. 26, 1888.

⁷⁷ *House Journal*, 1888, 100-108; *Marshalltown Daily Times-Republican*, Jan. 26, 1888; *Senate Journal*, 1888, 47.

⁷⁸ *House Journal*, 1888, 241, 435.

1888 contains over fifty pages identifying the petitions that were sent to the capitol. Chairman J. H. Sweney of the Senate Railway Committee reported that:

Tens of thousands of citizens of this State, exercising the right of petition, had asked this General Assembly to enact a law securing . . . prevention of discrimination; not one has asked for [a] law legalizing discrimination.⁷⁹

The interest in this subject was so heated that the Senate Railway Committee held two meetings daily. During these meetings, delegations of businessmen and railroad men aired their views and grievances. Governor Larrabee also attended and spoke at these sessions.⁸⁰

In March there was a good deal of concern as to whether any legislation would be passed, and some thought that the session might be classed as mediocre. Interest now focused on the Senate, which previously had been accused of being rather conservative. Coupled with this, the managers of the Iowa railroads claimed that any antirailroad legislation would inevitably result in bankruptcy for every company in Iowa.⁸¹

The jealous Senate, eager to have its own antirailroad bill, had been bickering for many days over Senator Sweney's bill, Senate File 18. However, on March 14, Senator G. L. Finn of the Railway Committee, with the approval of Senator Sweney, moved that Sweney's bill be laid aside and that House File 373 be considered. This being quickly approved, the Senate then proceeded to consider, to amend, and to pass the House bill by a vote of 44 to 0.⁸²

The House bill which had been amended by the Senate was now returned to the House. But more trouble was aroused, since the House now passed the bill with only those Senate amendments which its Committee on Railroads recommended. There were still numerous minor amendments which needed to be ironed out. To solve this problem, both houses agreed to appoint a ten-man conference committee composed of J. H. Sweney, Ben McCoy, Lafayette Young, William O. Schmidt, and James Dooley of the

⁷⁹ *Senate Journal*, 1888, 574, 1046.

⁸⁰ *Des Moines Register*, Feb. 17, 1888.

⁸¹ *Marshalltown Daily Times-Republican*, Mar. 27, 1888; *Cedar Falls Gazette*, Mar. 2, 1888.

⁸² *Senate Journal*, 1888, 574-8, 672. The bills, House File 373 and Senate File 18, were similar, except that the latter contained a much debated section which acknowledged the right of the long-and-short haul.

Senate, and Silas Wilson, J. W. Luke, James G. Berryhill, A. B. Cummins, and J. T. Hamilton of the House. In April the work of the antirailroad forces culminated in the acceptance of the conference committee's elaborate report. On April 2 the House adopted the report by a vote of 74 to 0 and the Senate did likewise by the vote of 41 to 0.⁸³ On April 5 the bill was presented to the Governor and signed. Five days later, both houses adjourned.

During the legislative months, Governor Larrabee was active in the reform movement. His very presence in the capitol was a big factor in holding the reform elements intact. He attended the railroad committee hearings; he sat in on legislative debates; and he made speeches before the committees. He kept the issue before the public eye by making speeches before interested groups such as the Shippers' Convention in Des Moines. On January 21, during an interview with a Chicago reporter, Governor Larrabee well indicated his strong feelings about the reform movement: "I am seeking no office for two years hence. My duty and purpose is to protect the interests of the people from the injustice of the railroads." In an interview with the Cedar Rapids *Gazette*, Lieutenant Governor Hull explained Larrabee's attitude: "Governor Larrabee is dead in earnest on the monopoly question. He means everything he says, and when the governor is aroused he is a host. He takes the position he does from principle."⁸⁴

The new law was a reform bill dealing with freight rates and the strengthening of the Board of Railroad Commissioners. The other bills, such as the maximum passenger rate bills, had been vigorously opposed by the railroads and were defeated or never considered. They did not have the strong united support of the shippers. The elaborate title of the new law well describes its purpose:

An Act to Regulate Railroad Corporations and other Common Carriers in this State, and to increase the Powers and further Define the Duties of the Board of Commissioners, in relation to the same, and to Prevent and Punish Extortion and unjust Discrimination in Rates charged for Transportation of Passengers and Freights on Railroads in this State, and to Prescribe a Mode of Procedure and Rules of Evidence in relation thereto, and to Repeal Section 11 of Chapter 77 of the Act of the Seventeenth General Assembly in

⁸³ *House Journal*, 1888, 692, 718-24, 727, 814-19, 826; *Senate Journal*, 1888, 746, 828.

⁸⁴ *Chicago News*, quoted in *Marshalltown Daily Times-Republican*, Jan. 21, 1888; Cedar Rapids *Gazette*, quoted in *ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1888.

relation to the Board of Railroad Commissioners and all Laws in force in direct Conflict with the Provisions of this Act.⁸⁵

Although the new law failed to deal with the outlawing of the free pass or the establishment of maximum passenger rates, Governor Larrabee was nonetheless very well satisfied. He affirmed that the new law was just and was, in fact, not radical at all. He said:

The act contains no new principle of railroad control. By far the greater part of its provisions were taken from the old law. Nearly every one of its features may be found either in the Interstate Commerce Act or upon the statute books of other States.⁸⁶

The strong Railroad Commissioner Law provided that all charges must be reasonable and just; that no special rates, rebates, refunds, or other devices be used; that no preference to any person, company, firm, corporation, or locality be made; that equal facilities for interchange of traffic be given to all railroads; that no greater charge be made for a shorter haul which is included within the longer haul; and that no pooling be allowed. It required that schedules of rates be printed, be made public, and that a copy be given to the Commission, while no advance in rates or in fares could be made except after a ten-day notice. It empowered the Board of Railroad Commissioners to make and to revise schedules and that these rates be held in all court suits as prima-facie reasonable maximum rates.

The law also provided for a strong penalty procedure for violation of the act. The Board of Railroad Commissioners was empowered to make investigations, to hold hearings, and to commence prosecution. Thus the new law considerably increased the scope and power of the Board which had previously been an informal advisory body.⁸⁷ This was essentially what Governor Larrabee had wanted.

The Twenty-second General Assembly also passed an act, complementary to the reform law, which provided for the election of the members of the Board of Railroad Commissioners. Formerly the Commissioners had been appointed by the Governor. They also had been paid by a fund drawn from the Iowa railroads. Now they were to be paid from the state treasury.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ *Laws of Iowa, 1888*, Chap. 28.

⁸⁶ Larrabee, *Railroad Question*, 341.

⁸⁷ *Laws of Iowa, 1888*, Chap. 28.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Chap. 29.

Although a victory for the reformers, this law aroused much apprehension, since many Iowans feared that the railroads would exercise a good deal of pressure and coercion during the public elections for the office of Railroad Commissioner.

The fierce crusade had ended on a note of compromise. But this was entirely plausible, considering the strong pressures exerted by the railroad forces and understanding that the central desire of the reform faction was to strengthen the Commission on the subject of freight rates. The crusaders had not completely conquered the enemy, but they had placed him under a strict control. Led by Governor Larrabee, they had given lifeblood to an effective mechanism of public control—the Board of Railroad Commissioners.

The reform measure having been enacted, the next problem was to establish its acceptance among the shippers and railroad officials. Thus, the remainder of Governor Larrabee's second administration was characterized by this struggle for approval of the Railroad Commissioner Law.

This general acceptance was difficult to secure, largely because the Board of Railroad Commissioners had the power to establish freight rates and to classify the Iowa railroads. When the new law went into effect on May 10, 1888, the focal point of interest for the state shippers and railroad officials was the Commissioners' deliberations on these points.

The new Board, composed of three popular and respected men, Peter A. Dey, Spencer Smith, and Frank T. Campbell, was most eager to be fair to all parties concerned. During their meetings, they listened to the viewpoints of both the shippers and railroad men. They studied the rates which the railroads were presently using, and they considered those rates which were being charged by adjoining states. When this arduous task had been completed, the Board announced that the maximum freight rate schedule would go into effect on July 5, 1888.⁸⁹

This new schedule met with immediate opposition from the Iowa railroads. On June 28, 1888, an injunction suit was brought before Judge David J. Brewer of the United States District Court by the Chicago & North Western Railroad, the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad, and the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad. Having heard considerable testimony on the case, Judge Brewer granted the injunction against the Commis-

⁸⁹ Dixon, *State Railroad Control*, 147-8, 251.

sioners' schedule. It was his opinion that the new rates might not give a return on the railroad capital invested, but he added that he felt that the Iowa Railroad Commissioners had the right to establish rate schedules so long as the schedules gave compensation, however small.⁹⁰

The Iowa Commissioners answered Judge Brewer's charges by maintaining that their rate schedule was intended to provide compensation for the railroads and that the new rates were higher than a large portion of the rates which the railroads had voluntarily established. They also pointed out that many of the Iowa railroads had begun discriminatory practices since the new law had taken effect. Their case was well illustrated when, on August 30, 1888, the shippers of Davenport filed charges against the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad, the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad, the Burlington, Cedar Rapids & Northern Railroad, and the Minneapolis & St. Louis Railroad, charging that since the new law had gone into effect their freight rates had been raised from 8 to 25 per cent.⁹¹

While the shippers' complaints were increasing, the railroads were still demanding injunction proceedings. On November 27, 1888, the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul and the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy applied for a court injunction restraining the new Commissioner rates. A hearing was set for December 11, 1888, and on February 2, 1889, Judge Brewer reversed his previous stand, this time announcing that he would not give a permanent injunction. This time, he declared that the rates must be tested. He said:

The officers of the railroad company declare that the rates fixed by the Commission will so reduce the income that it will not suffice to pay the running expenses of the road and the interest on its bonded debt; leaving nothing for dividends to its stockholders. The Railroad Commissioners assert that their schedule was framed to produce 8 per cent income on the value of the road after paying costs of maintenance and running expenses. Which view is the correct one, it is impossible to decide from the evidence submitted. There is, however, a conclusive way, and it seems to me it is the only way by which this controversy can be settled, and that is by experiment.⁹²

Two days after this decision, President Charles E. Perkins of the powerful Burlington Railroad notified the Iowa Commissioners that his company

⁹⁰ *Report, 1888*, 36.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 752.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 1889, 31.

would adopt the Commissioners' rates. Soon all the Iowa railroads followed this example. Of course, as the Cedar Falls *Gazette* pointed out, the railroads could still attempt to avoid the law:

[Brewer's decision] is something of a victory for the shippers but the railroads can decline to accept the commissioners' rates and run the risk of heavy fine, or put the rates into effect and try to show their unreasonableness.

But even this newspaper later noted that the Iowa railroads were making "every effort to adjust their Iowa freight schedule to the Commissioners' tariff."⁹³

All during the latter stage of his second term, Governor Larrabee kept his finger on the pulse of Iowa, trying to evaluate the public and private reaction to the new law. Having refused the Republican gubernatorial nomination for a third term, Governor Larrabee devoted his energies to supporting the new law. When the railroads at first refused to accept the Commissioners' schedule, Larrabee began legal prosecution. However, when the tide began to turn in favor of the schedule, the Governor worked for mutual cooperation. During the Brewer case, Larrabee and the Iowa railroads were carrying on negotiations "by which the proposed railroads accepting the Iowa commissioners' schedule as compensatory will dismiss their injunction proceedings against the commissioners in federal courts and the State will dismiss fifty penalty suits against the roads begun by Attorney General Baker by direction of Governor Larrabee in Polk and Scott counties."⁹⁴

After the railroads agreed to comply with the new schedule, Governor Larrabee issued a circular letter to a large number of shippers, manufacturers, millers, and mine operators throughout the state. On the whole, Larrabee found the shippers well satisfied. During an interview with the *Des Moines News*, he stated that "less than fourteen percent are opposed to state control."⁹⁵

The railroad problem now was largely nonexistent, since the railroads had acknowledged the schedule. Of course, there were still complaints, minor overcharges, minor discriminations, and prejudices, but the reform

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 29; Cedar Falls *Gazette*, Feb. 8, 1888; Dec. 13, 1889.

⁹⁴ Cedar Falls *Gazette*, Dec. 13, 1889.

⁹⁵ *Des Moines News*, quoted in *Marshalltown Weekly Times-Republican*, July 4, 1889.

movement had ended. The final question was to determine the efficacy of the legislation.

The new law was a gratifying success to the shippers, to the public, and to the railroads. Oddly enough, the most obvious benefits came to the railroads. The Iowa roads continued to grow in mileage and earnings. By 1891 Iowa had over 8,440 miles of railroad, and the Commissioners asserted that "no spot can be found within our borders that is fifteen miles from a railroad." The financial statistics are even more convincing. The total Iowa railroad gross earnings increased from \$37,148,399.75 in 1889 to \$43,102,399.35 in 1891. The net earnings jumped from \$11,861,310.09 in 1889 to \$14,463,106.58 in 1891. In addition, the net increase in tonnage for all the Iowa roads from June 30, 1890, to June 30, 1891, was 1,369,882 tons.⁹⁶ Larrabee summarized these figures by saying:

No further vindication of the Iowa law is necessary. These figures show plainly that the lowering and equalizing of the rates not only increased the roads' business and income, but also their net earnings. And it must be remembered that the reports showing these facts were made by the railroad companies and were certainly not made with any intention of prejudicing the cause of the railroad manager.⁹⁷

Not only did the railroads profit, but the public and the shippers discovered the advantages of the new law. The lower rates stimulated the development of business. New mills and manufacturing establishments were built and more coal mines were opened. The cheaper rates helped to encourage and to develop the intrastate trade. The Commissioners noted:

The farmer gets his supplies cheaper, his lumber, coal, salt and other heavy commodities at fair rates. He finds a market for a portion of his surplus corn, oats, hay, wood, timber, etc., at home and saves transportation. He markets many of his hogs in Iowa packing houses and saves freight charges. Wood and logs that lay in the timber rotting, the Iowa rates are making a market for, and new mills are sawing the latter up for use in excelsior, fencing pickets, handles, boxes and other industries unknown before.

The railway policy of the long haul has in a measure been supplanted by the new system, and an exchange of products between different parts of the State is one of the commendable results. Hay

⁹⁶ *Report, 1891, 4-5, 11, 16.*

⁹⁷ Larrabee, *Railroad Question*, 266.

and corn from northern Iowa are now sold at better prices in the dairy counties of eastern and southern Iowa in large quantities, a thing hitherto unknown. These formerly paid tribute to Chicago.

The Commissioners were also impressed by the stability of the lower rates:

There have been no rate wars and consequent disturbance of business in Iowa the past two years. The stable character of Iowa rates which have been in force, with only such slight changes as have been made in classification from time to time, are approved on every hand. While rate cutting has been in vogue in the states around us and the troubled waves have surged up against our very borders, wasting the energies of the great corporations and the revenues of the stockholders, Iowa has been largely free from their devastating and demoralizing influences, and with the curtailing of rebates, secret rates, free passes and other special privileges which the few formerly enjoyed at the expense of the many, there has [sic] followed steady rates and increased revenues — more than sufficient to make up for any deficiency caused by reductions in local rates. The evil effects of rate wars on business are also unknown here, and instead we have steady rates and uniform charges shared alike by all.⁹⁸

Thus, Governor Larrabee's task was completed. Now the success of the law would depend upon cooperation between the Commissioners and the railroads. In his final message as Governor of Iowa, Larrabee reduced the whole reform movement to terms of public responsibility:

Railroads have been called into being by people to promote the common welfare, and the State can tolerate neither usurpation of power nor conspiracy on the part of its creatures. . . . We are building for the future, and the importance of keeping intact those principles which lie at the foundation of every government of, for, and by the people cannot be overestimated.⁹⁹

Having refused further public office, William Larrabee returned to Montauk and Clermont. There, amid the pleasures of his fine home, he carried on his business affairs. By popular demand, he briefly returned to public service in 1898 and served two years as chairman of the State Board of Control. He remained actively interested in politics until his death on November 16, 1912.

⁹⁸ *Report, 1891, 9-10, 16.*

⁹⁹ "Biennial Message of William Larrabee . . .," *Iowa Documents, 1890* (6 vols., Des Moines, 1890), 1:47.

On November 18 the Des Moines *Register and Leader* published a penetrating editorial:

Governor Larrabee was not a visionary reformer. He was in everything and everywhere the practical man of affairs. . . . He simply grew to the responsibilities of his position, always looking for the larger opportunity to do for the public as a public servant what he had done for himself when serving himself.

It was not always easy in the earlier years for other successful business men who had come to look upon him as one of them and to measure their own duty towards the community by what the community might be made to contribute to their further enrichment to understand the gradual change they thought they detected as first in one place and then in another he proved that the community interest and not his own selfish interest was his first concern. There was no change. He was simply meeting new duties. . . . As governor, he had done for the state just what in his own private business he had done for himself.

The editor closed his tribute to Larrabee with the suggestion that "it would be the act of a grateful state to set apart . . . as a memorial to him and as an instructive example to posterity, the home of Governor Larrabee."

JAMES S. CLARKSON AND THE CIVIL SERVICE REFORMERS,

1889-1893

*By Stanley P. Hirshson**

The passage of the Pendleton Act, which in 1883 set up the Civil Service Commission and began the program of appointing candidates to federal posts on the basis of merit, did not permanently settle the civil service question in the United States. Believing in the party and not in commissions, some politicians had little faith in the law and waited for an opportunity to disregard it.

One of the chief defenders of the spoils system in the late 1880's and early 1890's was James S. Clarkson of Iowa, editor of the influential *Des Moines Iowa State Register*, and Republican boss of Des Moines, who, as President Benjamin Harrison's First Assistant Postmaster General, controlled the patronage in that important department.¹ Clarkson's appointment to office in 1889 came as a reward for services rendered to his party during the campaign of the previous year, when he had served as vice-chairman of the Republican National Committee. Considered by Harrison for such important positions as Postmaster General, Secretary of the Interior, and Secretary of Agriculture, and endorsed for the Cabinet upon three different occasions by Senator Matthew S. Quay of Pennsylvania, chairman of the Committee, Clarkson was kept out of Harrison's inner circle by Senator William B. Allison of Iowa, who waited until February, 1889, to decline the Secretaryship of the Treasury. An earlier refusal by Allison would have paved the way for the appointment of his fellow Iowan to a Cabinet post,

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¹ On the functions of the First Assistant Postmaster General, see Leonard D. White, *The Republican Era, 1869-1901, A Study in Administrative History* (New York, 1958), 263. Indispensable on the spoilsmen is Ari A. Hoogenboom, "Outlawing the Spoils, a History of the Civil Service Reform Movement, 1865-1883" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1937). For Clarkson's family background, see Leland L. Sage, "The Clarksons of Indiana and Iowa," *Indiana Magazine of History*, 50: 429-46 (December, 1954).

almost all of which were filled by the time the Senator acted.² Clarkson was then persuaded by Quay to accept the First Assistant Postmaster Generalship in order to help the politically inexperienced head of the department, John Wanamaker, accustom himself to his duties.³

From the beginning the Mugwumps, the country's strongest civil service reformers, were upset by Clarkson's appointment. To the *Nation* he was a ruthless spoilsman who would stop at nothing to enhance the fortunes of his party.⁴ Predicting that Clarkson would replace 28,000 Democrats during his first year in office, the *Civil-Service Reformer* called him "an Iowa politician of the spoils school" who "cannot be expected to regard the small post-offices as anything but the small change of politics."⁵ The *New York Times* labeled Clarkson a "partisan whose only public repute rests on the energy of his campaign work." His selection by Harrison "shows a cynical contempt for the requirements of common decency."⁶

The doubts of the Mugwumps were well founded. Clarkson wasted no time in removing Democrats from the fourth class post offices of the country.⁷ By late March, 1889, after only two weeks in office, he had established a daily routine. Appearing each morning at his desk promptly at 8:30 A. M., the First Assistant Postmaster General invariably checked his mail and then ordered the doors to his office thrown open. A hall jammed with people — Clarkson received more calls from job seekers than did the

² Leland L. Sage, *William Boyd Allison, A Study in Practical Politics* (Iowa City, 1956), 236-9; A. Bower Sageser, *The First Two Decades of the Pendleton Act, A Study of Civil Service Reform* (Lincoln, 1935), 137; Herbert Adams Gibbons, *John Wanamaker* (2 vols., New York, 1926), 1:263-7; *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 2, 3, 1889; *New York Tribune*, Mar. 15, 1889.

³ *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 15, 1889; Dorothy Canfield Fowler, *The Cabinet Politician, The Postmasters General, 1829-1903* (New York, 1943), 210-12; Matthew Josephson, *The Politicos, 1865-1896* (New York, 1938), 440-41.

⁴ *Nation*, 48:235 (March 21, 1889).

⁵ *Civil-Service Reformer*, 5:43 (April, 1889).

⁶ *New York Times*, Mar. 15, 1889.

⁷ The four classes of postmasters at the time were: first class, those paid \$3,000 or more a year; second class, those receiving \$2,000 to \$3,000 a year; third class, those paid from \$1,000 to \$2,000 a year; fourth class, those receiving less than \$1,000 a year. Since 1883 the first three classes were selected by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate and were known as the presidential postmasters. Fourth class postmasters were appointed and removed by the Postmaster General. See *A Bill to Aid the President in Selecting Candidates for Postmasters in the First, Second, and Third Class Post Offices: Report of the Select Committee of the Executive Committee of the National Civil Service Reform League* (Cambridge, 1893), 9.

President of the United States — now became visible to him. Exactly at 9:00 A. M. the procession, which ran forty or fifty feet down the corridor, began to move slowly. In turn, each of the applicants reached Clarkson's desk and presented affidavits supporting his claim to office. Typical of the job hunters was a Virginian with a long, shaggy beard who frankly admitted that he needed a post in his home town paying \$500 a year to live. He showed the First Assistant Postmaster General a paper from his Congressman certifying that he had been a gallant Confederate soldier during the war and a loyal Republican after it and that there were no other applicants for the position he sought. After checking the man's file, Clarkson appointed him. Next in line was Frederick Douglass, who pleaded that an office be given to a fellow Negro, a former slave. A large percentage of those waiting to see Clarkson were Southern colored men, many of whom complained: "The man who now has the post-office shot and killed my brother at the polls four years ago," or "The present Postmaster is a leader of the Democratic gang that defrauds us of our votes." Clarkson, of course, acted immediately to correct such situations. Once every three minutes the head of some Democratic postmaster dropped into the Iowan's private basket. In close contact with and subject to constant pressure from the nation's leading politicians, Clarkson during a typical day listened to requests for appointments from visitors like Senators Frank Hiscock and William M. Evarts of New York, James McMillan of Michigan, and Shelby Cullom of Illinois, and Congressmen Jonathan P. Dolliver of Iowa, William McKinley of Ohio, and Joseph Cannon of Illinois. With the full backing of the President, Clarkson exercised complete control over appointments and brooked prolonged or undue interference from no one.⁸

Long a defender of the Southern Negro, Clarkson was particularly ruthless in the South. Arguing that in 1885 President Grover Cleveland had unhesitatingly replaced colored officeholders with white Democrats, he refused to observe senatorial courtesy when it meant retaining Bourbons in office. He had little sympathy for men like Senator Matt W. Ransom of North Carolina, who, while pressing for the selection of white postmasters, told him one day: "You can readily see how unpleasant it must be for the refined, cultured people of the South to take their letters from the hands of coarse negroes." Clarkson answered that Southern white children were

⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 26, 1889.

reared "by black mammy nurses! Does not a colored servant cook your meals, another wait on your table, another shave your face, and still another mix your toddy for you?" he asked. "You admit that. Well, then, I'm unable to see why it is that if as babes you can take your breakfast from black breasts, you can't also take your letters and newspapers from the hands of negro Postmasters. At the office in question, Senator, a colored man will be appointed before night."⁹

Civil service advocates were aghast. *Harper's Weekly* reminded Clarkson that by replacing efficient postmasters with hungry Republicans for purely partisan reasons he was violating the pledges of the last Republican National Convention.¹⁰ The *Civil Service Record* dejectedly reported that Clarkson had appointed an illiterate Negro to the postmastership of Black Mountain, North Carolina. Unable to sort mail, this officeholder emptied the sack containing the town's letters in front of his office each morning and invited the residents of the village to find their own mail.¹¹ The *Nation* pointed out that Clarkson had made a burglar postmaster of one New York town and a "convicted keeper of a disorderly house" postmaster of another; a job in Arkansas had gone to "a man who had been convicted of sending obscene letters through the mails." For Clarkson, the magazine lamented, a typical day's work consisted of removing about 150 fourth class postmasters. Figuring that Clarkson worked eight hours a day, the *Nation* estimated that he made nineteen changes an hour. "Of course," the journal argued, "it is physically impossible for the Assistant Postmaster-General who chops off the head of a postmaster every three minutes every day in the week, to know anything about the merits of any particular case; and he makes these appointments at the demands of those who represent the Republican Machine, without the slightest sense of personal responsibility."¹² In late May, Puck joined in with a vivid two-page cartoon showing Clarkson preparing a line of Democratic postmasters for decapitation. "Executions Done with

⁹ *Ibid.*, May 30, 1889. A relative of Thomas Clarkson, the British antislavery leader, Clarkson as a youth had operated a twenty-eight mile stretch on the Underground Railway and had helped over 500 Negroes escape to Canada. On Clarkson's undying interest in the race question, see James S. Clarkson to Elijah W. Halford, May 13, 1892, *Benjamin Harrison Papers* (Library of Congress), Vol. 140; Clarkson to W. B. Allison, Apr. 21, 1890, *William Boyd Allison Papers* (Iowa State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines), Box 273; *New York Tribune*, June 1, 1918.

¹⁰ *Harper's Weekly*, 33:669 (August 31, 1889).

¹¹ *Civil Service Record*, 9:36 (September, 1889).

¹² *Nation*, 48:495 (June 20, 1889), and 49:21 (July 11, 1889).

Neatness and Dispatch at the Rate of 200 a Week," read the sign held by the bloodthirsty First Assistant Postmaster General.¹³

The subject of a bitter controversy, Clarkson in September, 1889, complained to a reporter that he was not "enamored of my official duties. No man gets much enjoyment out of a job that requires him to work twenty-six hours a day, be responsible for the sins of nearly 60,000 postmasters, attend personally to a correspondence that involves reading and answering upward of 150,000 letters in a period of six months, and for which he received the munificent compensation of \$4,000 a year." "Still," he continued, "I accepted the place and it is my intention to remain in it as long as my services, in the estimation of the administration, are required."¹⁴

Six months later Clarkson announced that he had "very nearly served out my sentence" and that he would soon retire. Particularly proud of the fact that he had already "changed 31,000 out of 55,000 fourth-class postmasters," he hoped "to change 10,000 more before I finally quit. I expect before the end of the month to see five-sixths of the Presidential postmasters changed. Then I can paraphrase old Simeon and say: 'Let thy servant depart in peace.'"¹⁵

Before departing in peace Clarkson made a series of widely publicized speeches in which he defended his policies and denounced those of the reformers. In April, 1890, he told an audience of Pittsburgh Republicans that "The American theory is for frequent changes in all public offices, and for every American boy to have an honest chance whether he seeks it in politics or elsewhere." He believed that there was "no American sympathy for a life-holding class in office, and no real American sympathy attends the present experiment of creating a profession of officeholders." The civil service advocates were encouraging "the people to be indifferent in public affairs." The First Assistant Postmaster General was certain "that the claim of the mugwump, that the people favor a life-holding class in office, if submitted to the people themselves, would be rejected by ten millions of votes."¹⁶

A Boston address by Clarkson a short time later was along similar lines. He was convinced that each party could carry out its campaign pledges only

¹³ *Puck*, 25:232-3 (May 29, 1889).

¹⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 14, 1889.

¹⁵ *Nation*, 50:168 (February 27, 1890). Simeon was the devout man of Jerusalem who recognized the infant Jesus as the Christ. His canticle begins: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." See Luke, 2:25-35.

¹⁶ *Des Moines Iowa State Register*, Apr. 29, 1890.

by putting its members in office. "Here," he announced, "I must part company with our esteemed friends, the Mugwumps. . . . I do not believe that Democrats can administer the affairs of a Republican administration as well as Republicans, any more than I believe that Methodists can carry on the affairs of a Baptist church better than Baptists. . . . All administration offices, those that are in any way to carry out the principles in government approved by the people at the polls, ought to be of men belonging to the party that was approved at the polls." To him, "the United States Government is a political and not a business organization." To be strong, a party needed patronage.¹⁷

A few days after the speech Clarkson complained to his close friend Louis T. Michener of Indiana that the Mugwumps had created a false issue. He termed the civil service problem "the toy of a child, the trifling thing of hobby riders, thrust in to keep the Republican party away from its duty under conscience of settling" the "great overshadowing question" of the day: human rights.¹⁸

Even members of Clarkson's own party disapproved of his stand. In a long interview Congressman Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts said that Clarkson had completely misrepresented the case for civil service and was not even aware of the basic aims of the reformers. According to him, the First Assistant Postmaster General was defending an archaic and corrupt system. Clarkson, Lodge felt, really had little to say in patronage matters. He merely carried out the orders given to him by Congressmen and Senators, who, influenced only by political considerations, controlled all appointments in their constituencies. The Mugwumps were justified in wanting to take federal offices out of politics entirely. Disagreeing with Clarkson's assertion that patronage was a source of party strength, Lodge pointed out that parties controlling offices frequently lost elections to those which did not. In the recent canvass in Clarkson's own state of Iowa, for example, the Republicans, who had scores of jobs at their disposal, were overwhelmed by the Democrats, who had none. The spoils system, Lodge concluded, was unjustifiable.¹⁹

The Mugwumps joined in the attack. The *New York Times* urged Clark-

¹⁷ *Philadelphia Press*, May 24, 1890.

¹⁸ Clarkson to Louis T. Michener, May 29, 1890, *Louis T. Michener Papers* (Library of Congress), Box 1.

¹⁹ *Springfield Republican*, May 26, 1890; *Civil-Service Reformer*, 6:65 (June, 1890).

son "to make his habitual speech against civil service" more often. "In no other way," it commented, "can he contribute so much to the enlightenment of public opinion as to the character and tendencies of the party of which he is, if not the executive, at any rate the chief executioner."²⁰ The *Springfield Republican* said that the First Assistant Postmaster General's remarks amounted to "the little and familiar claim of the spoilsman that the offices must be used to reward political workers." The Boston address was "pretentious buncombe, which his own practices as a spoilsman show to be empty nonsense from beginning to end."²¹

The reformers did more than just complain. The National Civil Service Reform League selected five prominent members — William Dudley Foulke, Charles J. Bonaparte, Richard Henry Dana, Wayne MacVeagh, and Sherman Rogers, four of whom had voted Republican in 1888 — to investigate the condition of civil service under the Harrison administration. After an exhaustive study the group found that Wanamaker and Clarkson had violated all the rules of fair play. During their first year in office the two spoilsmen had replaced nearly 64 per cent of the presidential postmasters, about one-third of the removals having been illegally obtained by coercive means solely for partisan purposes. The committee concluded that "It is not the Postmaster-General and his First Assistant who, in the last analysis, are responsible. It is the President, who appointed Wanamaker and Clarkson, and who permitted these things to be."²² The results of the investigation so incensed the members of the League that, through a special committee on which Foulke, Carl Schurz, and Moorfield Storey served, they drew up a bill prescribing the ideal conditions under which first, second, and third class postmasters should be chosen.²³

Fighting back, Clarkson denounced both the League and its committees. "No political capital can be made out of these changes [in the Post Office]," he told an Associated Press reporter. "The President has made no removals except for cause, — for delinquency in official duties, inefficiency of service,

²⁰ *New York Times*, June 2, 1890.

²¹ *Springfield Republican*, May 24, 1890.

²² *Civil Service Reform in the National Service, 1889-1891: Six Reports of the Special Investigating Committee of the National Civil Service Reform League* (Boston, 1891), 30-33; William Dudley Foulke, *Fighting the Spoilsmen, Reminiscences of the Civil Service Reform Movement* (New York, 1919), 57-63.

²³ *A Bill to Aid the President . . .*, 1-8. See note 7.

or violation of law. He has refused to make any changes for partisan reasons."²⁴

In poor physical as well as political health, Clarkson, after announcing once more that he had "no liking for office holding" and that he preferred "private life and its independence," resigned on September 1, 1890. During his eighteen months in the Post Office Department he had established a record by appointing 32,335 fourth class postmasters, an average of about 72 a day. Of the 2,617 presidential postmasters, all but 400 were changed during the same period.²⁵

Undaunted by the criticism which had been heaped upon his head, Clarkson wrote a lengthy defense of the spoils system for the May, 1891, issue of the *North American Review*. Stating that the American government was representative and was "based on party responsibility," he emphasized that when voters elected a Republican president they endorsed Republican principles and wanted them carried out. Similarly, the people selected a Democratic president when they wanted Democratic doctrines to hold sway. The Founding Fathers, Clarkson stressed, had devised this procedure and had actually endorsed the spoils system. During the first one hundred years of the Republic "partyism was encouraged and applauded; not discouraged and flouted according to the new intellectual fashion of this latter day." The Mugwumps, or Pharisees as Clarkson now derisively dubbed them, were responsible for the widely held notions that political activity was harmful, that party rule was evil, and that politicians were despicable. Clarkson made no distinction between a politician and a statesman. No matter what he was called, the politico served his country as well as his party. "The people themselves have no fear of the politician," Clarkson continued. "He is the man nearest to them. He has to renew his life at every caucus and in every convention and at every election. The more publicity in politics the better; the more activity the better. When the white light of publicity is on anything the danger is gone."

Politicians were honest men, Clarkson argued. During the past twenty-five years he had met "scarcely any men who have made money in politics." He was convinced that ninety-nine out of one hundred men spent more money in public service than they ever made out of it. Defying the reformers to reveal the names of any dishonest politicians with whom they were

²⁴ Foulke, *Fighting the Spoilsmen*, 60.

²⁵ *New York Times*, Aug. 30, 1890; *Civil Service Record*, 10:21 (September, 1890).

acquainted, Clarkson estimated that for every crooked public official there were twenty men who earned in government less than one-third the sum they could have made in private life. Former Speaker of the House Samuel J. Randall, a Pennsylvania Democrat, and Republicans such as former Governor Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, ex-Senator John A. Logan of Illinois, and former Vice President Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, all now dead, were typical politicians.

Clarkson insisted that the Mugwumps were more dishonest than the spoilsmen. When attacking Harrison, the Pharisee had purposely ignored the many civil service reforms initiated by his administration. The President had retained Democrats in over half the federal posts under his control — about 10,000 in number. These men were kept in office despite the fact that they still said that the Rebellion had been right, that Harrison had been elected President in 1888 by fraud, and “that the honest people of the United States will come into power again in ’93.” No Mugwump mentioned that the Interstate Commerce Commission was still Democratic or that President Harrison had cheerfully delivered the commissions of ninety-eight Democratic postmasters appointed late in the term of Grover Cleveland. Although Republican in make-up, the Civil Service Commission was unfriendly to the President and was closer to the Democratic party than to the administration. True Republicans, Clarkson declared, “do not like the Mugwump or his fads. They have seen that a man in becoming a Mugwump first becomes better than his party, and next better than his country.” The Pharisee would deprive the people of their “interest and education in politics, would take away from the million Americans holding office every year the education they thus gain in government, and would teach the masses of Americans to be indifferent to public affairs.” Clarkson said that he would not be surprised if the reformers were really paid hirelings of the Democrats. He did not believe that public officials should be selected by civil service commissioners who were responsible to no one, who were not mentioned in the Constitution, and who knew nothing of the practical duties of the officeholder. Only parties could successfully govern the United States.²⁶

The civil service reformers were appalled. Calling upon all men to denounce the article, the *New York Times* stated that Clarkson’s views directly contradicted recent Republican platforms on the subject. The ex-First As-

²⁶ James S. Clarkson, “The Politician and the Pharisee,” *North American Review*, 152:613-23 (May, 1891).

sistant Postmaster General was "doing great injury to his party, and . . . his party cannot afford it."²⁷ According to *Harper's Weekly*, intelligent people would not stand for arguments like this one. Clarkson was undoubtedly pushing young voters into the Democratic ranks.²⁸

Especially piqued by the spoilsman's blast was Theodore Roosevelt, the young New York Republican who was serving as a Civil Service Commissioner. In a St. Louis speech he denounced both Clarkson's articles and methods. Particularly irritated by Clarkson's assertion that the Commission was more unfriendly to the Republican party under Harrison than it had been to the Democratic party under Cleveland, Roosevelt asserted that "Mr. Clarkson is suffering under a confusion of ideas. He is mixing up himself and his friends with the Republican party. . . . The Civil Service Commission is most undoubtedly hostile to Mr. Clarkson and the idea which Mr. Clarkson represents. We should fail in our duty if we were not. We can no more retain the goodwill of the spoilsman than a policeman who does his duty can retain the goodwill of the lawbreaker." Far from being hostile to the Republican party, the Commission, Roosevelt believed, was carrying out the pledges of the last Republican national convention, "which Mr. Clarkson and his friends are striving to have us break." The former First Assistant Postmaster General was "against 'Mugwumpery,' but does not Mr. Clarkson see that in writing articles of this nature he affords the very best argument — the strongest justification possible — for Mugwumpery?" The Commissioner denounced the Iowan's assertion that the Democrats had bought off the reformers. "It is just as foolish to make that statement as it would be to make the statement that the Democratic Party purchased Mr. Clarkson to write his article, which is more fitted to do damage to the Republican Party than any possible Mugwump editorial. Mr. Clarkson wants the young men of integrity and ability to come into the Republican Party. Then why does he scare them out by writing such stuff as that?" Defending the Civil Service Commission's examinations as practical, Roosevelt charged that Clarkson, when in the Post Office Department, had fired qualified as well as unqualified men. Clarkson's article, interpreted the Commissioner, proved that men of his ilk went into politics for rewards. "There is a certain difference," Roosevelt suggested, "between being paid with an office and being paid with money, exactly as there is a certain difference between the sav-

²⁷ *New York Times*, May 7, 1891.

²⁸ *Harper's Weekly*, 35:338 (May 9, 1891).

agery of an Ashantee and that of a Hottentot, but it is small in amount.”²⁹

Another important denunciation of Clarkson came from Dorman B. Eaton, the first president of the Civil Service Commission. In an article which appeared in the July, 1891, number of the *North American Review*, he asked the former First Assistant Postmaster General to explain why, if nothing was wrong with the spoils system, the civil service reform movement was so powerful and why it was constantly gaining strength. The merit system, Eaton wrote, had greatly increased the competence of government workers and had opened the way for young men of “character and capacity” to enter government service. The bosses alone despised it. Disagreeing with the report of the National Civil Service Reform League, Eaton happily noted that the President and most of the Cabinet had sustained reform: Harrison had greatly enlarged the civil service list; Secretary of the Navy Benjamin F. Tracy had enforced the Pendleton Act in several navy yards; and Secretary of the Interior John W. Noble had extended the merit system to the Indian Service. Of the leading officers of the present administration only Clarkson had rejected reform.

To Eaton, Clarkson represented a new type of Mugwump. Like the original breed, Clarkson stood ready to criticize his own party. But unlike the old Mugwump, who denounced the vices of his party, the new variety condemned its virtues. Clarkson, Eaton went on, really was angry because the Republican organization had kept the civil service pledge it had made to the voters in 1884 and 1888. The reformer challenged Clarkson’s assertion that the Founding Fathers and the first Presidents had envisioned and endorsed the spoils system. Thomas Jefferson, for example, had made only fifty removals upon becoming President and, insisting that he disliked partisanship, had justified these on the basis of necessity. Jackson, complained Eaton, had started the disgraceful practice of party replacements.³⁰

Mercilessly denounced by the reformers, Clarkson began to yield. In 1893 he outlined to the National Republican League, of which he was president, his own civil service plan. Each officeholder, he believed, should have a fixed tenure of office. “This would preserve the self-respect of the occupant of every office, and protect all public places from the danger of too sudden or too general changes.” Clarkson also recommended that all post-

²⁹ *New York Times*, May 20, 1891.

³⁰ Dorman B. Eaton, “A New Variety of Mugwump,” *North American Review*, 153: 44-53 (July, 1891).

masters be elected. "Better than anybody in Washington do the people in every community know who would make their best and most satisfying postmaster," he said. In a blow aimed directly at the Mugwumps he expressed the hope that any Republican plan of reform would "not have the ugly worm of hypocrisy in its heart, nor in any way pander to the new and diseased fashion of the time, that a man should set himself up to be better or more honest than his party as soon as he is elected to office, and that superior morality demands a choice of democrats rather than republicans to carry out republican ideas and republican pledges."³¹

The years passed, but the civil service advocates never forgot Clarkson's record as First Assistant Postmaster General. In opposing Clarkson's appointment in 1902 as Surveyor of the Port of New York, papers such as the *New York Times* and men like William Dudley Foulke, now a Civil Service Commissioner, cited his record as Harrison's chief "headsman."³² Even President Theodore Roosevelt, who personally selected Clarkson for the New York post, clearly remembered their dispute during 1891 and warned the new appointee "to be particularly careful not to get into any conflict with the Civil Service Commission. As you know, I am rather a crank on the Civil Service law."³³

In the broad perspective of time, Clarkson's fight with the reformers stands out as one of the last attempts of the spoilsmen to revive an era in which the party ruled without interference. Even in the 1890's, Clarkson's course was unpopular with important segments of his own party. During the period in which he quarreled with the reformers, such Republican regulars as Lodge and Roosevelt — men who had never bolted the party — joined forces with the civil service advocates, while not a single Republican publicly came to Clarkson's defense. The Iowan was fighting a battle which he could not possibly win, a fact which he unquestionably realized in 1910, when, upon retiring from the Surveyorship of the Port of New York, he announced: "The Customs Service will never attain its rightful and possible efficiency until it is completely separated from political influence."³⁴

³¹ *Annual Address of James S. Clarkson, President of the National Republican League of the United States . . . May 10, 1893*, 10-11, in *James S. Clarkson Papers* (Library of Congress), Box 1.

³² *New York Times*, Apr. 18, 1902; Foulke, *Fighting the Spoilsmen*, 154-5.

³³ Theodore Roosevelt to Clarkson, May 5, 1902, in Elting E. Morison (ed.), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (8 vols., Cambridge, 1951-1954), 3:256.

³⁴ Foulke, *Fighting the Spoilsmen*, 155.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

The Society added 150 new members during the months of April, May, and June. During that period the following became Life Members: R. H. Collier, Dubuque; W. J. Johannes, Ashton; William Leichsenring, Amana; Dr. John I. Marker, Davenport; Dr. J. Ryan Beiser, Tampa, Florida; Mrs. J. F. Brechner, Waverly; J. M. D. Burrows, Davenport; R. O. Burrows, Jr., Belle Plaine; Oakley B. Davidson, Kansas City, Missouri; A. E. Dickson, Pleasant Valley; W. J. Edgar, Grand Junction; Thomas J. Frank, Pleasant Valley; Mrs. May Wall Grant, Alden; Ralph Green, Des Moines; M. B. Guthrie, Iowa City; Philip Hedin, Davenport; John A. Hughes, Ruthven; Mrs. Carl LeBuhn, Davenport; Mrs. C. R. Leonard, Sioux City; G. M. Ludwig, Tiffin; Robert T. Melvold, Maquoketa; John H. Shields, Waterloo; Ben. S. Summerwill, Iowa City; and Dr. Benjamin Wolverton, Cedar Rapids.

At the biennial meeting of the members of the Society at Iowa City on June 29, 1959, the members of the Board of Curators elected by the membership were re-elected with the exception of S. T. Morrison, of Iowa City, whose resignation because of ill health was accepted. To replace Mr. Morrison on the Board, Ingalls Swisher of Iowa City was elected. Curator William R. Hart of Iowa City was elected president of the Society, to replace Mr. Morrison in that position. Superintendent Petersen's report to the members will be published in the October issue of the JOURNAL.

Superintendent William J. Petersen conducted a tour of the Amana Colonies on April 8 for the Legislative Ladies League.

The twelfth annual Mississippi River cruises took place on June 13 and 14, aboard the *Addie May*. About 120 members took part in the two cruises from Nauvoo to Keokuk.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

April 8 Conducted tour of Amana Colonies for Legislative Ladies League.

- April 15 Addressed annual meeting of the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs at Cedar Rapids.
- May 1 Spoke to 105 members of newly-formed Dallas County Historical Society at Adel.
- May 5 Addressed annual meeting of Minnesota Association of Mutual Insurance Agents at Minneapolis.
- May 10 Addressed Marshall County Historical Society dedication of Susie Sower Home in Marshalltown.
- May 13 Attended Harlan-Lincoln Committee dinner at Mount Pleasant.
- May 21 Commencement address to Tri-Community Schools at What Cheer.
- May 22 Commencement address at Little Rock Community Schools.
- May 23 Addressed the Osceola County Historical Society breakfast in Sibley.
- May 23 Addressed Sibley and Osceola County Women's Clubs at Sibley.
- May 24 Spoke to clubs associated with restoration of the Abbie Gardner Sharp Cabin in Arnolds Park.
- May 26 Commencement address to English Valley Community Schools at North English.
- May 27 Commencement address at Knoxville.
- May 29 Commencement address at Red Oak.
- June 13-14 Conducted 12th annual Mississippi River Historical tours on *Addie May*.

Iowa Historical Activities

John Morrell & Company, meat packers of Ottumwa, have presented some 8,000 records and letters dating back to 1882 to the library of the State University of Iowa. These papers will enable scholars to study the development of one of Iowa's major industries.

An outstanding collection of Indian handwork, collected by the late Dr. Raymond A. Burnside of Des Moines, has been turned over to the State Department of History and Archives at Des Moines.

The James Harlan home at Mount Pleasant, presented to Iowa Wesleyan College fifty years ago by Harlan's daughter, Mrs. Robert Todd Lincoln, is

being restored under the direction of Larry Belles as executive director of the restoration. The restored portion of the home is now open to the public from 1:30 to 3:30 p. m., Monday through Friday.

Ten Iowans have been named to the advisory council of the National Civil War Centennial Commission: James Lucas, Bedford; Clyde H. Doolittle, Des Moines; Clarence W. Moody, Burlington; Ralph Evans, Davenport; William J. Petersen, superintendent of the State Historical Society at Iowa City; W. Ross Livingston, Iowa City; William L. Talbot, Keokuk; Mrs. Helen Virden, Mount Pleasant; Dr. Thomas E. Tweito, Sioux City; and William C. Rathke, Glenwood. The members will confer with the national commission on plans for the centennial of the Civil War, scheduled to begin in 1961.

Officers of the Iowa Society for the Preservation of Historical Landmarks are: Mrs. R. B. Engelbeck, Des Moines, president; Mrs. Otha Wearin, Hastings, vice-president; William J. Wagner, Dallas Center, secretary; Simpson Smith, Des Moines, treasurer; and Lawton Patten, Ames, recorder. Directors are: Mrs. Carroll Mitchell, Grundy Center; Mrs. Addison Parker, Sr., Des Moines; Leonard Wolf, Ames; and Mrs. Glenn Greene, Newton.

The "Red School" north of Manchester is to become an historical site. The grounds of the school are to be made a public park, and the school kept as a memorial to the one-room schoolhouse of early Iowa.

The Abbie Gardner Sharp Cabin at Arnolds Park is to be preserved as a memorial of the Spirit Lake Massacre of 1857. The 1959 legislature transferred the property to the State Historical Society of Iowa and appropriated \$3,000 to restore and preserve it. Local residents are working with Superintendent William J. Petersen on plans for re-opening the cabin.

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COVER

The State Historical Society of Iowa Centennial Building

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA 1957-1959

*By William J. Petersen**

Two years ago the State Historical Society of Iowa celebrated the centennial of its birth on February 7, 1857, and started down the second century of its history. The first biennium of this new century — 1957-1959 — was both fruitful and in many respects the most outstanding in its long years of service to the people of Iowa. On the fruitful side, the biennium showed a net gain in membership of 811. Its publication program has continued on the traditionally high level that has won the applause and excited the envy of kindred societies. Its historical tours — by steamboat, auto caravan, and bus — have continued to attract widespread membership participation and public attention.

Certainly outstanding was the progress made on the Society's new dream home. Thus, during the biennium we asked for bids for the construction of our new Centennial Building, turned the spade in the first ground breaking ceremony, and have seen the building rise steadily during 1958 and 1959 so that by the time of our biennial meeting on June 29, 1959, members of the Society were able to gather on the lawn outside the completed structure and subsequently make a tour of the interior to see the installations then in progress. Meanwhile, the Society had spent \$165,000 of its own funds and had almost exhausted the \$200,000 appropriated by the State. It had, however, had its spirits buoyed up by an \$85,000 appropriation by the Fifty-eighth General Assembly for much needed furnishings and equipment for the new building. This sum was to become available as of July 1, 1959. On June 29, the Society was awaiting the completion of air-conditioning, plumbing, and electrical work during the summer before beginning its move into the new structure. The dreams of five generations of lovers of state and local history were about to be realized.

Membership Growth

In my last report I indicated that the membership of the Society had increased from 60, at the time the IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS

*William J. Petersen is superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

was established in 1903, to 978 when *The Palimpsest* was founded in 1920. By 1940 the membership had risen to 1,560. Seven years later, in July of 1947, our membership stood at 1,121; of these, 683 were active members and 438 were life members. At that time the five historical societies of the Upper Mississippi Valley ranked as follows in active and life membership: Missouri — 4,312; Wisconsin — 2,343; Illinois — 1,682; Minnesota — 1,674; Iowa — 1,121. In 1947 six counties had no members, while one-third of the ninety-nine counties had two or less members. This obvious weakness was readily apparent to the curators, who took action to see that a larger and more evenly distributed membership should be built up throughout Iowa. The compilation on page 291 reveals the membership growth that our Society has enjoyed by counties since 1947.

On June 29, 1959, our membership stood at 6,067, which still placed us second in the United States in total membership. It also represents the greatest percentage of membership increase of any Society in the United States over the past twelve years. Only Missouri eclipses the Hawkeye State in total membership, but with its \$1.00 membership fee for its quarterly magazine, there is little chance of Iowa's overtaking our neighbor to the south. During the past twelve years our Society registered gains in active as well as life membership. The following figures should be gratifying:

Iowa's Increase in Active and Life Members

	1947	1949	1951	1953	1955	1957	1959
Active Members . . .	683	1,749	3,095	3,776	4,197	4,545	5,322
Life Members	438	545	614	676	703	711	745
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total Members	1,121	2,294	3,709	4,452	4,900	5,256	6,067
Net Gain		1,173	1,415	743	448	356	811
Total Membership,							
30 lowest counties	80	146	306	288	328	363	385
Average Membership,							
30 lowest counties	2.6	4.9	10.2	9.6	10.7	12.1	12.8

The membership growth by counties should present a challenge to all members, particularly those in poorly-represented counties. There is no justifiable reason why Jones County with 42 members in a population of 19,405 should equal Adams, Decatur, Osceola, Taylor, and Wayne counties — with a combined population of 55,570. This is no exception, for Bremer and Butler counties both have smaller populations than Jones but

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Membership Growth by County, 1947-1959

County	1947	1951	1955	1957	1959	County	1947	1951	1955	1957	1959
Polk	127	315	426	434	454	Van Buren	2	14	17	26	32
Johnson	123	285	323	321	372	Calhoun	4	12	17	24	31
Linn	81	204	288	326	342	Montgomery	8	28	37	35	31
Scott	90	197	272	267	277	Hancock	4	12	18	18	29
Black Hawk	48	138	189	191	207	Humboldt	2	19	28	33	29
Muscatine	8	71	93	101	146	Jackson	4	22	25	27	29
Fayette	6	25	40	41	138	Warren	3	11	29	25	29
Washington	18	64	88	81	136	Allamakee	8	16	20	21	28
Story	12	45	59	69	101	Buena Vista	0	16	17	22	27
Buchanan	7	27	42	49	92	Clay	2	21	24	21	27
Iowa	15	68	74	73	92	Wright	5	16	18	22	27
Lee	20	58	72	79	89	Dickinson	6	28	24	25	26
Jasper	5	30	72	74	87	Greene	4	22	28	25	25
Dubuque	25	71	78	84	84	Pocahontas	8	25	17	12	22
Henry	9	23	39	54	84	Winneshiek	5	14	16	19	22
Cerro Gordo	15	57	72	82	81	Harrison	2	7	17	19	21
Clayton	5	29	40	45	78	Sioux	2	15	21	21	21
Des Moines	19	56	62	79	78	Union	2	14	14	21	21
Clinton	17	71	79	70	75	Cherokee	4	16	19	19	20
Cedar	10	42	66	57	64	Appanoose	8	39	25	25	19
Page	6	31	35	56	64	O'Brien	5	18	18	16	18
Webster	5	39	55	54	62	Palo Alto	4	17	19	17	18
Marshall	14	33	59	62	61	Winnebago	0	7	16	21	18
Wapello	14	60	69	57	61	Lyon	1	14	11	16	17
Benton	13	52	62	62	59	Shelby	4	12	16	18	17
Delaware	1	19	37	42	58	Crawford	4	12	14	19	16
Woodbury	14	30	42	42	57	Worth	2	8	14	13	15
Poweshiek	6	25	36	44	56	Davis	2	6	6	11	14
Kossuth	4	29	40	37	54	Howard	1	8	11	13	14
Hamilton	7	30	47	54	51	Monroe	2	10	14	12	14
Pottawattamie	16	46	41	43	51	Audubon	0	10	7	10	13
Bremer	7	21	35	46	47	Franklin	4	10	15	16	13
Butler	4	18	43	44	45	Fremont	2	11	13	13	13
Keokuk	12	35	41	42	45	Guthrie	5	9	12	13	13
Louisa	8	25	38	48	44	Emmet	1	11	11	10	12
Carroll	5	23	28	39	43	Ida	5	7	6	10	12
Jones	8	23	39	43	42	Lucas	3	9	8	15	12
Grundy	8	30	24	30	40	Monona	5	9	15	9	12
Jefferson	12	30	42	35	39	Ringgold	2	9	8	11	12
Mahaska	8	45	25	28	38	Plymouth	4	8	8	12	11
Marion	9	14	23	31	38	Adair	0	10	10	8	10
Tama	3	40	33	37	38	Clarke	1	9	7	7	10
Boone	3	25	29	35	37	Madison	0	13	13	9	10
Dallas	9	19	28	28	37	Mitchell	4	4	8	12	10
Floyd	1	11	26	27	35	Adams	3	6	6	7	9
Mills	5	18	29	32	34	Decatur	0	9	8	11	9
Hardin	4	15	16	32	33	Osceola	1	16	10	8	9
Cass	8	34	26	28	32	Taylor	3	15	11	9	9
Chickasaw	2	6	29	29	32	Wayne	4	4	3	8	6
Sac	3	11	23	27	32						

have even greater membership than the five above mentioned counties which stand at the bottom of the ninety-nine counties in Society membership. A further comparison can be drawn between Linn and Woodbury counties with almost identical populations. Linn counted 342 members in 1959 compared with 57 for Woodbury. We are happy to note, however, that Woodbury did register an increase of 15 over the previous biennium, due in part to visits by the Superintendent to Sioux City during the biennium just closed. In contrast to a total membership of 108 for Pottawattamie and Woodbury counties, Polk, Johnson, and Linn have grown to 1,168 members, which is more than the membership of ninety-nine counties twelve years ago.

There is plenty of opportunity for membership growth, particularly in the weaker counties in the state. Actually, 73 of our 99 counties gained in membership, while 7 remained the same. This is a better record than we made in the previous biennium when 64 counties gained and 10 others remained the same.

County Gain in Membership: 1957-1959

Fayette	97	Page	8	Clarke	3
Washington	55	Webster	8	Boone	2
Johnson	51	Pottawattamie . .	8	Mills	2
Muscatine	45	Floyd	8	Jackson	2
Buchanan	43	Cedar	7	Harrison	2
Clayton	33	Marion	7	O'Brien	2
Story	32	Calhoun	7	Worth	2
Henry	30	Allamakee	7	Monroe	2
Polk	20	Van Buren	6	Emmet	2
Iowa	19	Clay	6	Ida	2
Kossuth	17	Clinton	5	Adair	2
Linn	16	Sac	5	Adams	2
Black Hawk	16	Buena Vista	5	Bremer	1
Delaware	16	Wright	5	Butler	1
Woodbury	15	Wapello	4	Tama	1
Jasper	13	Carroll	4	Hardin	1
Poweshiek	12	Jefferson	4	Dickinson	1
Hancock	11	Cass	4	Cherokee	1
Scott	10	Warren	4	Palo Alto	1
Lee	10	Keokuk	3	Lyon	1
Grundy	10	Chickasaw	3	Howard	1
Mahaska	10	Winneshiek	3	Ringgold	1
Pocahontas	10	Davis	3	Madison	1
Dallas	9	Audubon	3	Osceola	1
		Monona	3		

Despite the over-all net gain of 811 new members for the biennium, one cannot help regretting the fact that 19 counties declined in membership, even though 15 of the 19 sustained losses of three or less. Since it is important for our members to watch these trends and endeavor to correct them, the counties are listed herewith, with the number lost. One can gather solace from the fact that the total loss was only 48 compared with 97 in the previous biennium.

1 loss	2 losses	3 losses	4 losses	6 losses
Cerro Gordo	Mitchell	Hamilton	Louisa	Appanoose
Des Moines	Decatur	Winnebago	Montgomery	
Marshall	Wayne	Crawford	Humboldt	
Jones		Franklin		
Shelby		Lucas		
Plymouth		Benton		

It would be a real achievement if every county could have at least one member for every 1,000 inhabitants. At the present time our statewide membership is approximately two and one-half members for each 1,000 inhabitants. Iowa County can boast better than six members for every thousand. Woodbury, on the other hand, needs 104 members instead of its 57, while Pottawattamie should have 69 instead of 51. Proportionately, however, when compared with Iowa County, these desired goals could well be multiplied by six. Our five lowest counties, happily, need to increase their total from 42 to only 55 in order to reach the minimum objective of one for every 1,000 inhabitants. It would seem that our real work is to register gains in those counties that lag in membership. One must still wonder — does the wide disparity in county membership indicate apathy or a possible lag in historical and cultural interest?

Publications

During the past two years *The Palimpsest* and the IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY have appeared regularly. We print approximately 7,000 copies of our monthly magazine regularly, but frequently receive heavy demands for extra copies so that our total printing of *The Palimpsest* generally runs well over 100,000 copies annually. The use of our monthly by schools and study clubs has grown to such an extent that it frequently serves as the primary source of information on the various topics under discussion. The supply of our *Selected Readings in Iowa History* has been virtually exhausted during the biennium, and a reprint will be made shortly bringing it

up to date. This four-page pamphlet has saved our staff a tremendous amount of work in answering correspondence and at the same time has proved of inestimable value to students of Iowa history.

The wide variety of subjects treated in *The Palimpsest* is indicated in the following:

	<i>The Palimpsest</i>	
	<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>
1957		
July	The Fourth of July in Iowa	William J. Petersen
Aug.	The Tama Powwow	Ruth A. Gallaher
		Dick Spencer III
Sept.	The Manchester & Oneida Railway	Frank P. Donovan, Jr.
Oct.	University Football Through the Years	William J. Petersen
		John O'Donnell
		Bert McGrane
		Tait Cummins
		Gus Schrader
		Al Grady
		Eric Wilson
Nov.	The 57th General Assembly of Iowa	Frank T. Nye
Dec.	Christmas in Iowa	Phil Stong
		John T. Frederick
		William J. Petersen
1958		
	<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>
Jan.	Old Fort Madison — 1808-1813	Donald Jackson
Feb.	The Fur Trade	George F. Robeson
		J. E. Briggs
March	My Amish Boyhood	Sanford C. Yoder
		Melvin Gingerich
April	Visitors From Outer Space	Ben Hur Wilson
		William J. Petersen
May	Harry Bedwell — Railroad Raconteur	Frank P. Donovan, Jr.
June	Joliet and Marquette	William J. Petersen
July	Keokuk	F. R. Aumann
		J. E. Briggs
Aug.	Arch W. McFarlane	William J. Petersen
		C. C. Clifton
		David Dentan
Sept.	Iowa State College, 1858-1958	Ned Disque
Oct.	Centennial of the Trans-Atlantic Cable	William J. Petersen
Nov.	Spanish Land Grants in Iowa	William J. Petersen
		Ben Hur Wilson
		Iola B. Quigley
Dec.	Iowa in 1858	William J. Petersen

<i>1959</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>
Jan.	New Year's Day in Iowa	William J. Petersen
Feb.	Centennial of the Waterloo <i>Courier</i>	David Dentan
		William J. Petersen
March	Letters to Iowa Editors	William J. Petersen
April	The Cornell Music Festival	Bartholow V. Crawford
		Paul Beckhelm
May	The Mennonites in Iowa	Melvin Gingerich
June	Crime in Iowa	John Carl Parish
		Eliphalet Price

During the same period our quarterly magazine, *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, has stood at the forefront among the publications issued by state historical societies. It has published a wide variety of scholarly yet readable articles that have attracted widespread interest among our membership as well as among professional historians. The following monographs have appeared during the biennium:

<i>Iowa Journal of History</i>		
<i>Issue</i>	<i>Article</i>	<i>Author</i>
July, 1957	"The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1955-1957"	William J. Petersen
	"Iowa and the Battle of Shiloh"	Mildred Throne
October, 1957	"Proslavery Sentiment in Iowa, 1838-1861"	Joel H. Silbey
January, 1958	"Pioneer Farmers and Innovation"	Allan G. Bogue
April, 1958	"Iowa Railroads and the Des Moines River Improvement Land Grant of 1846"	Leonard F. Ralston
	"A Decade of Transportation Fever in Burlington, Iowa, 1845-1855"	George A. Boeck
July, 1958	"Iowa Politics and the Compromise of 1850"	Morton M. Rosenberg
October, 1958	"Dennis Mahony and the <i>Dubuque Herald</i> , 1860-1863"	Hubert H. Wubben
January, 1959	"The Election of 1859 in Iowa"	Morton M. Rosenberg
	"The Burlington Railroad's Swine Sanitation Trains of 1929: A Case Study in Agricultural Development"	C. Clyde Jones
	"The Fruits of Iowa Progressivism, 1900-1915"	William L. Bowers

<i>Issue</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Editor</i>
July, 1957	"A Letter from Cedar Falls"	Thomas H. Smith
October, 1957, and January, 1958	"Reminiscences of Jacob C. Switzer of the 22nd Iowa"	Mildred Throne
April, July, and October, 1958	"Erastus B. Soper's History of Company D, 12th Iowa Infantry, 1861-1866"	Mildred Throne
January, 1959	"Three Gold Rush Letters of Adonijah Strong Welch"	William H. Hermann
April, 1959	"Iowa Troops in Dakota Territory, 1861-1864. Based on the Diaries and Letters of Henry J. Wieneke"	Mildred Throne
<i>Issue</i>	<i>Source Material</i>	
October, 1957	"David Brant's Iowa Political Sketches"	
January, 1958	"The Appointment of James Wilson as Secretary of Agriculture"	
July, 1958	"A Burlington Editor Comments on the Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858"	
January, 1959	"James S. Clarkson's Letter on Allison's 1872 Election"	
<i>Issue</i>	<i>Miscellaneous Articles</i>	<i>Compiler</i>
July, 1957	"Comments on the 'Hornet's Nest' — 1862 and 1887"	Mildred Throne

Two Books Distributed During the Biennium

During the biennium two outstanding books were distributed by the Society. The first volume, mailed out in October, 1957, was a reprint of John B. Newhall's *A Glimpse of Iowa in 1846*. It promptly won an accolade of praise from both members and reviewers. In addition, the American Association for State and Local History voted an *Award of Merit* to the Newhall book, emphasizing the value of its scholarly introduction by the Editor and expressing the hope that both book and introduction would serve as a model for other societies to follow. The book joins four similar reprints of rare Iowana and Americana by the Society, viz., *Black Hawk's Autobiography*; A. M. Lea's *Notes on Wisconsin Territory, Particularly with Reference to the Black Hawk Purchase, or Iowa District*; John Plumb, Jr., *Sketches of Iowa and Wisconsin*; and Dr. Isaac Galland's *Galland's Iowa Emigrant*, all extremely rare volumes that have become

highly prized by members of the Society and are of inestimable value to students and scholars. It is worth noting that original copies of these five books in good to mint condition would bring anywhere from \$2,500 to \$5,000, whereas members of the Society have been receiving valuable re-prints of these volumes free with their membership.

A second volume issued during the biennium was Thomas R. Ross's *Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver*, a full-length biography of one of Iowa's most distinguished statesmen. The warm reactions of members to this readable volume were highly gratifying. One appreciative soul, Harry Hansen, a native of Davenport and distinguished editor of the *World Almanac*, wrote a penetrating review in his column in the *Chicago Tribune* Book Review section. Twenty-seven Iowans have served as United States Senators, and six of these have been the subject of full-length discussion in the *Iowa Biographical Series*, which, with the appearance of the Dolliver book, now numbers nineteen volumes.

In addition to the above, the Society has issued regularly its *News for Members*, which continues to alert members on the activities of the Society. *News for Members* has been responsible for bringing many valuable manuscripts, photographs, maps, and books into our possession. It is equally significant in chronicling the history and development of the Society, particularly in these last few years when every effort has been bent toward securing a home of its own in its Centennial Building. Members should continue to respond to our appeal for photographs, manuscripts, diaries, newspaper files, industrial records, catalogs, and house organs, all of which will make us a more effective historical institution.

Another publication, *Iowa History News Flashes*, goes out to over 500 newspaper editors, providing them with feature articles and fillers for their papers. It helps to bring Iowa history down to the very grass roots.

The Library

During the biennium 1957-1959 the library acquired 1,545 books in addition to numerous maps, pamphlets, pictures, and manuscripts. Most of the latter, in addition to some of the books, have come to us as gifts. Of course many of the books also come to us from other societies and learned organizations in exchange for our own publications. We still need more city directories and telephone directories, both old and new, to build up our collection in this department. We also want to expand our holdings in plat books and atlases, and we especially would be grateful for some of the

more recent ones, say 1920-1957, which have been overlooked while we have sought out the older ones.

Genealogy

The Society already has proved a rich source of information for those interested in genealogy. We have both original and microfilmed United States Census Records, almost every county history that has been published in Iowa, plat books and atlases for all but one county (Grundy), genealogical records from other states and regions as well as a good file of those published by the Daughters of the American Revolution and kindred groups. We are hopeful that many families will place copies of their genealogies in the Society's Genealogy Room.

Newspapers

In the past we have been unable to accept files of newspapers offered to us, but this situation no longer prevails. We are now in a position to store almost 200 per cent more bound files in our new Centennial Building and as a consequence we hope to assemble all rag content newspapers that were published during the nineteenth century, as these have a longevity prospect of one to three centuries if properly cared for in our air-conditioned, humidity-controlled newspaper stacks. Our original files date back to 1840 and will be good for generations to come if carefully handled. We have microfilm records and photostat copies of newspapers dating back to the 1820's, these being either Galena, Illinois, or St. Louis newspapers, which form a prime source of Iowa history prior to the appearance of the *Dubuque Visitor* on May 11, 1836.

Postcards and Photographs

Members can do much to improve our publication program by sending us photographs and picture postcards relating to their home town and community. Life on Main Street, whether in Deep River, What Cheer, Lost Nation, Calliope, or Morning Sun, will become more meaningful if we can secure a more complete collection of photos of courthouses, libraries, churches, schools, manufacturing plants, swimming pools, golf courses, parks, railroad stations, post offices, and garages that will be useful to us in preparing articles on various subjects.

In addition to commercial photos, the Society would benefit if members sent in more personal photos, both current and old-time pictures. For old-time pictures the following are suggested:

<i>Outdoor Scenes</i>	<i>Indoor Scenes</i>	<i>Holidays</i>
Picnics (church & school)	Church suppers	New Year's
Baseball	PTA meetings	Easter
Football	General stores	Arbor Day
Chautauqua	Blacksmith shops	Memorial Day
Fire departments	Drugstores	Flag Day
Circus	School programs	Fourth of July
Carnivals	Ice cream parlors	Labor Day
County fairs	Barber shops	Armistice
Boat regattas	Photo salons	Thanksgiving
Plowing matches	Groceries	Christmas
Husking contests	Meat markets	
	<i>Historical Tours</i>	

During the biennium the Society continued to sponsor historical tours, not only for its membership but for various groups of Iowans. The past twelve years have clearly demonstrated the value of such tours in developing a greater awareness among our citizens of their rich heritage. By steamboat and bus, by railroad and in family car, thousands of Iowans have gained a rewarding experience as they discovered, frequently for the first time, how colorful and inspiring was the story of their local community and their state. One of the cardinal responsibilities of an active historical society is the fostering of a genuine state pride among its citizens.

Steamboat Excursions: 1948-1959

When our first Mississippi River steamboat excursions were inaugurated in 1948 there was no thought of establishing them as annual events. And yet, as our 1957-1959 biennium comes to a close, we find that the seven years of exciting outings with Commodore O. D. Collis on the *Rob Roy III* have been followed by five years of equally enjoyable historical excursions with Captain H. Andressen aboard his *Addie May*. Surely, it was thought, such enthusiasm would have declined, but an average of one hundred members and guests were aboard the *Addie May* on each trip in 1959. It is unfortunate that we have been unable to run similar trips on the Missouri during the biennium, but we hope to continue these in the years ahead.

Overland Tours

During the biennium we sponsored several outstanding tours. For the fourth consecutive time we conducted the Legislative Ladies League on a tour of the Amana colonies in May of 1959. Once more William Leichsenring, proprietor of the Ox Yoke Inn, tendered the ladies a breakfast, and George Foerstner and the Amana Refrigerator, Inc., were hosts to them at a

luncheon at the Ox Yoke Inn. Dr. Henry Moershel gave an excellent talk to the group in the Homestead Church.

Another unusual tour sponsored by the Society was the one to Decorah, Spillville, and Fort Atkinson. Fully sixty-six Johnson County Farm Bureau women made this tour in Greyhound buses and greatly enjoyed the scenic and historic treasures of northeastern Iowa.

During May of 1958 the Society also sponsored a tour of the Iowa State College campus for the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs. Mrs. Bessie Petersen conducted this tour as a part of her work as state chairman of Iowa Heritage for the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs.

The Lincoln Sesquicentennial

The Society has taken an active part in the observance of the Abraham Lincoln Sesquicentennial in Iowa. The first Lincoln meeting was held on the Iowa Wesleyan campus on December 13, 1958, with Dr. William E. Baringer, executive director of the Abraham Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission in Washington, D. C. The Superintendent of the State Historical Society outlined a program for the observance of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial in Iowa. Among the projects mentioned by Dr. Petersen were: (1) restoration of the Harlan Home; (2) a joint session of the General Assembly in Des Moines on February 12; (3) a program in Iowa City to honor the memory of Judge Bollinger and his great Lincoln collection on the University campus; (4) a dinner and program at Iowa Wesleyan on February 15 featuring Dr. R. Gerald McMurtry, noted Lincoln scholar; (5) encouragement of Lincoln programs throughout Iowa in 1959; (6) creation and development of a Civil War Round Table in Iowa; (7) the proper marking of historic spots in Iowa associated with the memory of Lincoln; and (8) the issuance of a special Lincoln publication by the State Historical Society of Iowa.

State Historical Society of Iowa Centennial Building

Five years ago, in October, 1954, your Superintendent described the desperate need for space in his monthly "Message" in *News for Members*. The next month he outlined a program that was destined to induce the 56th General Assembly to appropriate \$200,000 for a State Historical Society of Iowa Centennial Building contingent on the Society's matching this sum with \$100,000 of its own funds. At our biennial meeting in 1955 it was reported that \$25,000 had already been raised but emphasized at the same

time that \$75,000 more would be needed to entitle us to the \$200,000 matching fund just appropriated by the Fifty-sixth General Assembly. It was hoped that all members would want to become identified with this project as contributors.

Our willingness to raise \$100,000, our cramped quarters in Schaeffer Hall, the need of the University for additional space in this building, the enthusiastic support of the press and radio — all were important in gaining legislative backing and in securing additional contributions from various sources. As a result, it was possible to report, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the Society on February 7, 1957, that the goal of \$100,000 in cash available had been reached. On a more somber note, it was noted that the cost of building had gone up approximately 10 per cent since we initiated our dream building and that at least \$125,000 would be required to furnish the new structure with adequate shelving and other equipment. Four months later, at the biennial meeting of the Society on June 24, 1957, it was reported that cash available then totaled approximately \$118,000 with another \$10,000 in pledges to be collected, which, with interest, brought our Centennial Building fund holdings to \$330,000.

Bids Asked — Opened

While busy with problems of raising funds, promoting the Society, writing and editing publications, the Superintendent devoted more and more of his spare time with architect Burdette Higgins, of the firm of Tinsley, Higgins, Lighter, and Lyon of Des Moines. With the modest sum at our disposal there could be no tinsel in the plans to house our holdings and insure adequate room for expansion for years to come. Space was the primary need of the Society. After much toil to get the most for the small sum available, plans were finally approved by the Board of Curators of the Society and bids were asked for the construction of the Centennial Building.

On April 17, 1958, bids were opened in the presence of over fifty bidders. There were nine bids for the general contract, four bids for the mechanical contract, four bids for the electric wiring contract, and six who sought the service elevator contract. Superintendent Petersen and Curators William Hart, James Nesmith, and James Stronks of Iowa City, John Mohl of Davenport, and L. R. McKee of Muscatine were present and introduced by Architect Burdette Higgins. Mr. Higgins then opened and read the bids before the group.

Successful Bidders

<i>Contract</i>	<i>Firm</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Amount</i>
General	Frantz Construction Co.	Iowa City	\$215,400
Mechanical	Darragh & Associates, Inc.	Cedar Rapids	99,850
Electric Wiring	The Home Appliances, Inc.	Iowa City	22,217
Elevator	R & O Elevator Co., Inc.	Minneapolis	16,929
Total			\$354,396

Since the architect's fee of 6 per cent must be added to the above figure, it was decided to eliminate the elevator from the project. It had been hoped that an elevator could be installed for \$10,000, and no one felt more badly than the Superintendent when the above bid was rejected. Those seventy-six steps to our eerie perch on the third floor of Schaeffer Hall were a daily reminder. However, when attending the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Minneapolis on April 24 the Superintendent determined to contact the lowest bidder — R & O Elevator Company, Inc., in Minneapolis. A short telephone conversation with Mr. Ken Arnold was followed by a breakfast and inspection of the R & O elevator in the Elks Club building in Minneapolis. The exact needs of the Society were outlined, and Mr. Arnold agreed that such an installation could be made for close to the \$10,000 originally hoped for. When a new proposal was actually made by the R & O, the Board of Curators approved the price of \$11,757, and the elevator was reinstated in the Centennial Building plans. The original contracts as finally accepted were:

<i>Contract</i>	<i>Successful Bid</i>	<i>Amount</i>
General	Frantz Construction Company.....	\$215,400
Mechanical	Darragh & Associates, Inc.....	99,850
Electrical	Home Appliances, Inc.	22,217
Architect	Tinsley, Higgins, Lighter & Lyon.....	22,080
Elevator	R & O Elevator Co., Inc.	11,757
Miscellaneous	3,000
Total.....		\$374,304

Additions and deductions brought the total figure to \$381,895.81, of which \$325,763.15 had been paid by June, 1959, leaving a balance of \$56,409.46 to be incurred at the time of the biennial meeting.

Conclusion

In concluding this report it should be evident that emphasis has been

placed upon the more obvious activities of the Society. The actual hum-drum work goes on, apparently unnoticed, but nevertheless important and all too frequently time consuming. Letters by the thousands must be answered. Most of these are relatively simple for our trained staff, but invariably some will come across our desks which have stumped the Iowa Development Commission, the Des Moines Chamber of Commerce, the Governor's Office, or some other state or local official. The rich resources of the Society must then be combed to provide an answer. While thousands of these letters are from Iowans, literally hundreds come from all over the country.

The variety of these inquiries would baffle the average person. On one occasion a famous stage designer arrived in the Superintendent's office and asked to be shown a spot in Iowa that would have "corn as high as an elephant's eye" and at the same time would meet the exact demands of the Hollywood producer for a setting for filming *Oklahoma*. The former was easy, but two interesting days of travel in five counties failed to yield the desired spot for the latter — a house of 1905 architectural vintage, no telephone wires or paved roads, and a pleasant sloping vista to afford a good camera view for the setting. Scores of Iowans knew the exact spot — only to have one or more undesirable feature quickly pointed out by the stage designer. We could only content ourselves with the fact that the great state of Oklahoma had also failed miserably after the stage designer had traveled thousands of miles in the Sooner State.

Some of these inquiries involve considerable research. On the eve of the opening of Meredith Willson's *The Music Man* a special delivery arrived asking for information on famous living Iowans, the stores and industries in existence, and the events that were transpiring at the time this smash hit took place. Such an inquiry is not answered in a minute, an hour, or a day. And yet there are time limits, due to our small staff, and when the research is too involved the writer is simply asked to come to Iowa City and do the research himself.

One of the strangest coincidences occurred when the Superintendent stepped into the office of a fellow Iowan in New York City — Keith Funston, president of the New York Stock Exchange — only to find that a letter had been sent to him in Iowa City the day before, asking for information about one of Mr. Funston's ancestors, whom he believed was an Episcopal or possibly a Presbyterian minister in Iowa. Upon my return to

Iowa City I looked up the desired information and wrote Mr. Funston that among other things he would have to content himself with a Methodist minister heritage.

During the course of a normal year the sources of our library are used not only by the graduate students and faculty at the University of Iowa but by scholars from all over the state and nation. The by-product of such research is to be found in numerous scholarly publications printed far beyond the borders of Iowa. Thus, the Society is able to carry on the work for which it was originally set up, namely to collect, preserve, and publish (or help others to publish) the great stories evolving around the history of Iowa.

A POPULATION STUDY OF AN IOWA COUNTY IN 1850

By *Mildred Throne**

When Iowa was opened to white settlement on June 1, 1833, only the area along the Mississippi River, known as the Black Hawk Purchase, was available to landseekers. In 1837 another small segment, just west of the Black Hawk Purchase, was opened. Five years later a larger area, comprising most of central and southern Iowa, was purchased from the Sauk and Fox Indians, and at midnight on April 30, 1843, settlers were permitted to move into the eastern half of the lands thus acquired.¹ One of the counties opened was Wapello, now the fourth county west of the Mississippi, in the second tier of counties north of the Missouri border. Wapello, bisected by the navigable Des Moines River, looked promising to many from eastern Iowa and from neighboring states. Hundreds — some said thousands — gathered at the border on April 30, 1843, and when midnight came the race for land began. The author of an early county history believed that it was “past finding out who came and who actually composed the pioneer throng.”²

This is not quite true. In the Wapello County histories, published in 1878, 1887, and 1914, many names of the first-comers appear.³ By checking these names against the 1850 federal manuscript population and agricultural census books, much information can be obtained about this “pioneer throng” of 1843. However, not enough names can be found to make the information of much value, except to antiquarians.⁴

Although it is not possible to find out much about all of the settlers who entered Wapello County in the “rush” of 1843, it is possible to obtain a picture of this pioneer community in 1850, seven years after settlement.

*Mildred Throne is associate editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

¹ See map in Roy L. Lokken, *Iowa Public Land Disposal* (Iowa City, 1942), 15.

² *The History of Wapello County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, 1878), 374.

³ The county histories for Wapello County are: the 1878 edition, quoted in note 2; *Portrait and Biographical Album of Wapello County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, 1887); and Harrison L. Waterman (ed.), *History of Wapello County, Iowa* (2 vols., Chicago, 1914).

⁴ Microfilm copies of the federal population census books (the originals of which

The census takers who compiled the population and agricultural records in that year have preserved for the historian much that he needs to know to understand the economic life of a frontier community. They listed the name, age, and state of birth of each member of a household, gave the occupation of the householder and of any sons of working age, and listed the value of the real estate held by the family. In addition, agricultural statistics for those calling themselves farmers were entered in the agricultural census books. Here the census taker gave the amount of land each farmer owned or operated (the 1850 census does not distinguish between owners, operators, or tenants), the value of the farm and of the machinery used by the farmer, the number and value of livestock, the bushels of grain raised, and data on various other products of the farm.

To illustrate the type of information available in the census returns, a name selected at random is that of John Clark. In 1850 he was thirty-eight years old, his wife was thirty-four, and they had six children, ranging in age from one to fourteen years. John Clark and his wife were born in Indiana, as were their two oldest children, aged fourteen and thirteen. Twins, aged nine years in 1850, were born in Illinois; the two youngest children, one of six and one of one year, were born in Iowa. From the ages of his children, it can be deduced that Clark and his wife had been married about fifteen years; that some time after the birth of their second child they had moved from Indiana to Illinois, where twins were born; and that at least six years before 1850 they had moved to Iowa. Further proof that John Clark had been in Wapello County for at least six years is the fact that he is listed in a county history as a member of the first grand jury of the county which met in 1844.⁵ Clark had, in 1850, a farm of 160 acres (40 improved, 120 unimproved), valued at \$800; he had farm machinery worth \$50; he owned 2 milch cows, 2 oxen, 10 sheep, and 12 swine, worth \$82; he had raised, in 1849, 38 bushels of wheat, 340 bushels

are housed in the National Archives) for 1840 through 1880 are in the State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City. The Society has copies of the manuscript agricultural census books for 1840 through 1880. From the county histories I have compiled a list of the names of the "first settlers" and compared them with the population census; however, since the census was taken seven years after the first settlement, and since only a comparatively few names of the first settlers are known, the information obtained does not apply to the condition of the settlers in 1843, except for such invariables as age and place of birth. To make any study of the first settlers, therefore, would have required too much supposition to be accurate historically.

⁵ *History of Wapello County*, 402.

sheared 36 pounds of wool, had churned 150 pounds of butter, had made of corn, 15 bushels of Irish potatoes, and 34 bushels of buckwheat; he had \$50 worth of "home manufactures," and had slaughtered \$55 worth of animals.⁶

Another type of resident of Wapello County in 1850 was Clement Gleason, a native of Massachusetts, who is listed in the population census as a cooper. In 1850 Gleason was forty-two years old; his wife, a native of North Carolina, was thirty-six; his oldest son, John, born in Indiana, was nineteen and listed as a farmer. Four other children, from sixteen to eight years of age, were born in Indiana; while the youngest two, four and two years of age, were born in Iowa. In addition to being a cooper, Gleason also owned a farm of 120 acres, valued at \$800; he had \$100 worth of machinery; his livestock consisted of 2 horses, 3 milch cows, 2 other cattle, 50 sheep, and 4 swine, worth \$227. He had raised 17 bushels of wheat, 600 bushels of corn, 200 bushels of oats, 20 bushels of Irish potatoes; he had sheared 140 pounds of wool, churned 250 pounds of butter, and had made 60 pounds of honey. His home manufactures consisted of \$175 worth of materials, and he had slaughtered \$46 worth of animals. His son, John, as a member of the household, can be considered a farm laborer rather than a farmer as he is listed in the census.⁷

An example of another type is Michael Walsh, a grocer, born in Ireland, aged thirty-two in 1850. His wife, aged thirty, was also a native of Ireland. They had five children, two of nine and eight years of age, born in Ohio; three of six, five, and three years, born in Iowa. Walsh's property was listed as worth \$100.

This kind of information, compiled for all the householders of Wapello County in 1850, gives an understanding of the economic life of the county. In addition, by comparing the names in the 1850 census with those in the

⁶ This information was obtained from the population and agricultural census books. Since all the data compiled for this article was obtained in the same way, no documentation will be used for individual references.

⁷ The census taker for Wapello County in 1850 did not distinguish between "farmers" and "farm laborers." For the purposes of this article, I have considered all sons or other relatives, living with the farm-owner, as farm laborers, although they are listed in the census as "farmers." In addition to men obviously of the same family, because of the same surname, there are some living in a household of different surnames than the householder who are listed as "farmers"; these I have also called "farm laborers," and have differentiated between the two types by classifying the sons and relatives as "farm laborers, relative" and the others as "farm laborers."

1860 returns, the number and type of settlers who remained in the county can be determined.

The pioneer has often been pictured as a young man, setting out alone or with a wife, to conquer the wilderness. He is also considered, almost invariably, as a farmer. Although 1,622, or 78 per cent, of the 2,067 men in the 1850 Wapello County census listing occupations were farmers, yet the distribution of the other occupations indicates a certain amount of urban life. In fact, a small group who joined the rush into the county on May 1, 1843, were not looking for farm land at all. They had already selected a site on the Des Moines River near the Appanoose Rapids, where they intended to establish the county seat, a spot they had previously located as the center of the county. Six men had formed the Appanoose Rapids Company, and on May 1 they began laying out the town of Ottumwa, reserving half of the 400 lots they surveyed for donation to the county in return for establishing the county seat there.⁸ Other towns built in the first years of settlement were Eddyville, Agency City (on the site of the Indian agency formerly run by General Joseph M. Street and Major John Beach), Ashland, Dahlonga, Kirkville, and Chillicothe. Unfortunately, the 1850 census is not divided into townships for Wapello County, so that these non-farmers cannot be located in the several towns, except in a few cases where their names are mentioned in the county histories.

OCCUPATIONS

The types of occupations in the county, and the numbers in each type, are shown in Table I. Column 1 gives the occupation; column 2, the number of householders in that occupation; column 3, the number of non-householders; column 4, the total of householders and non-householders; and column 5, the number of that total who remained in the county in

⁸ Uriah Biggs, "Sketches of the Sac and Fox Indians, and the Early Settlement of Wapello County," *Annals of Iowa* (1st ser.), 3:534-7 (October, 1865); *History of Wapello County*, 462-4. The six men were J. R. McBeth, John D. Elbert, Uriah Biggs, Milton Jamison, William Ross, and David Glass. Later Paul C. Jeffries and Hugh George joined the company. Only three of these town-builders stayed with their investment until at least 1850: Uriah Biggs, Paul C. Jeffries, and Dr. William Ross. The others evidently moved on, taking what profit they could from their town venture. Interestingly enough, in the 1850 census, Uriah Biggs and Paul C. Jeffries are listed as farmers in the population census but do not appear in the agricultural census — a puzzling case of "farmers without farms." This leads to the supposition that some of these "farmers not in the agricultural census" may have been land speculators, who gave the census taker the more acceptable listing of "farmer" rather than the unpopular one of "land agent" or "speculator."

1860. Many of the non-householders, it will be shown later, were sons or relatives of the householders.

TABLE I
NUMBERS IN OCCUPATIONS, WAPELLO COUNTY, 1850

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>House- holders</i>	<i>Non-House- holders</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Number who remained, 1860</i>
Farmer ⁹	1155	467	1622	535
Blacksmith	21	10	31	4
Brick maker	2	5	7	1
Broom maker	1	2	3	—
Butcher	—	1	1	—
Cabinet maker	12	6	18	2
Carpenter	44	36	80	19
Carriage maker	—	2	2	—
Civil engineer	1	3	4	1
Clerk	3	15	18	5
Cooper	6	2	8	1
County clerk	1	—	1	—
County collector	1	—	1	1
Dentist	—	1	1	—
Druggist	1	3	4	—
Editor	1	—	1	1
Fanning mill maker	1	—	1	1
Grocer	4	1	5	2
Gunsmith	1	—	1	—
Hatter	1	1	2	—
Horticulturist	—	1	1	—
Laborer	11	25	36	1
Lawyer	10	8	18	4
Leather worker	1	—	1	—
Lumbering	1	—	1	—
Mason	7	4	11	2
Merchant	25	11	36	14
Miller	10	10	20	6
Minister	7	1	8	1
Painter	—	2	2	1
Peddler	1	—	1	1
Physician	22	7	29	6
Plasterer	3	11	14	2
Potter	3	—	3	2
Printer	1	6	7	1

⁹ This number includes all farmers and farm laborers. For a breakdown, see Table II.

Occupation	House-holders	Non-House-holders	Total	Number who remained, 1860
Saddler	2	1	3	—
Schoolteacher	2	5	7	3
Sheriff	1	—	1	1
Shoemaker	16	3	19	4
Silversmith	—	1	1	1
Stage driver	—	6	6	2
Stone cutter	1	—	1	—
Surveyor	1	—	1	1
Tailor	8	1	9	1
Tavern keeper	2	—	2	—
Teamster	2	—	2	—
Tinner	1	2	3	1
State official ¹⁰	1	—	1	1
Wagon maker	7	4	11	3
Wheelwright	1	—	1	—
Totals	1403	664	2067	632

This table illustrates, to some extent, the mobility of the frontier, the tendency of the pioneer to move on to what he hopes will be greener pastures. Of the total of 2,067 in all occupations, 632 or 30 per cent remained in the county in 1860. The farmers seemed to have a little higher staying power: 535, or 33 per cent, of the 1,155 remained in 1860; of the non-farm occupations, 97, or only 22 per cent, of the 445 remained.

The farmer occupational group needs to be broken down into several categories for a complete understanding of this type. First, there are the "farmers," so classified in the population census, who also appear in the agricultural census. These are by far the largest number. Then there is a householder, classified as a farmer in the population census, who does not appear in the agricultural census. Any explanation for this can be only supposition. The population and agricultural census was taken by the same

¹⁰ This was George Gillaspy, recently elected treasurer of the State Board of Public Works. Gillaspy, a native of Kentucky, who had moved to Indiana and then to Iowa, became prominent in Ottumwa and in Iowa Democratic politics in later years. Gillaspy was also interested in banking and in meat packing and for a time amassed considerable wealth. In the 1860 population census his occupation is listed as "Gentleman," his real estate was worth \$50,000, his personal property, \$7,000. Considering the fact that he gave no property value at all in 1850, he seems to have prospered mightily. According to a somewhat fictionalized history of Wapello County, Gillaspy died in 1874, having lost most of his money in the post-war market collapse. Francis Roy Moore, *Wapello Chief: A Tale of Iowa* (Cedar Rapids, 1938), 144-5.

man in Wapello County in 1850 on the same day. A comparison of pages and dates in the two types of census books proves this. Why some men, listed as "farmers," were not also entered in the agricultural book is not explained or explainable. There are too many of this type (328) to make it an accidental omission. Some few may have bought land within a few months of the census dates (in August and September) and have had nothing to report, although in that case the census taker could have entered at least the amount of land held. Since the agricultural census dealt with the production of the farm, as well as its size and value, and if the "farmer" had no production to report, possibly this is an explanation of why he was omitted. Furthermore, the majority of these "farmers without farms" listed no value of real estate in the population census. In many cases, also, the birth dates of the children, or scattered information in county histories, indicate that some were residents of the county for a number of years. One explanation is that this "farmer without a farm" was a farm laborer, living in a separate house (since he is always listed as a householder), and working for the owner of the house. However, since it is impossible to interpret what the census taker meant in all cases, these "farmers not in the agricultural census" have been listed in Table II separately:¹¹

TABLE II
WAPELLO COUNTY FARMERS, 1850

	Total in 1850	In 1850 census only	In 1850 and 1860 census
Farmers	827	450	377
Farmers not in agricultural census	328	250	78
Farm laborers, relatives	342	269	73
Farm laborers	125	118	7
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Totals	1622	1087	535

The farm laborers have been divided into two classes: "relatives" — members of the family, either sons, brothers, or even fathers in some instances — and "farm laborers," those listed as "farmers" and living in the household, but of a different surname. The census taker in 1850 made no

¹¹ Merle Curti, in his recent study of Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, *The Making of an American Community, A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County* (Stanford, Calif., 1959), treats this problem of "farmers without farms" in detail. He concludes that they were probably farm laborers (pp. 59-60). However, no real conclusions as to why the census takers listed these men as they did can be reached without a study of the local county land records.

distinction between "farmers" and "farm laborers," listing all men of working age in a farm household as "farmers." However, since many of these were obviously relatives, this division is important in that it shows that in 1850 the farmers of Wapello County employed few laborers outside their own families. Of the 467 men who can be safely identified as "farm laborers," only 125 were not relatives and probably worked for wages.

Of the 1,155 farmers in the 1850 census, only 304, or 26 per cent, had farm laborers on their farms. Of these, 70 per cent had relatives and 22 per cent, non-relatives, while 8 per cent of the farmers had both relatives and non-relatives as farm laborers. Many of those classified as non-relatives may have been sons-in-law or relatives with different surnames.

This table also shows that the established farmers tended to stay in the county, while the farm laborers were more likely to move on. Of the farmers, 46 per cent stayed to 1860; of the farmers not in the agricultural census, only 24 per cent remained; while of the farm laborers, 21 per cent of the relatives stayed and only 6 per cent of the non-relatives.

AGES

Other questions that the census taker has answered deal with the ages of the pioneers and their origin. A table of the ages of the householders tends to refute the usual statement as to the youth of the pioneers. Table III gives this information on the householders, on the non-householders, and

TABLE III
AGES OF MEN WITH OCCUPATIONS, BY PERCENTAGES

	<i>Householders</i>						<i>Over</i>
	<i>Under</i>						
	20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	70
Farmers (1,155)	1	27	37	20	11	3	1
Non-farmers (248)	0	39	41	11	7	2	0
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total (1,403)	1	29	38	18	10	3	1
	<i>Non-Householders</i>						
Farm laborers (467)	54	37	5	1	1	1	1
Non-farm (197)	24	54	13	5	1	2	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total (664)	45	42	7	3	1	1	1
	<i>All Occupations</i>						
Total (2,067)	15	33	28	13	7	3	1

on the total of both types. Taking the ages of all in occupations in the county is misleading, as will be seen by comparing the percentages in Table III. Because of the family complexion of the community, a truer picture of the maturity of those who settled the county is obtained by taking only the ages of the householders — the heads of families — those who led the way.

As will be seen by studying Table III, the percentages for all with occupations (2,067) gives an entirely different picture than if only the householders (1,403) are considered. By choosing one set of percentages over the other, the historian can show either that almost half (48 per cent) of the settlers were below the age of thirty, or he can show that but 30 per cent were below thirty, while 38 per cent were between the ages of thirty-one and forty.¹² One figure gives the pioneer community a more youthful complexion than the other. But, as has been pointed out, the pioneers came in family groups. If the question to be answered is: How old were the pioneers? then it would seem that the age percentages of the householders

TABLE IV
NUMBER OF CHILDREN — ALL HOUSEHOLDERS

Number of children	Farmers		Non-Farmers		All	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0	107	9	29	12	136	10
1	140	12	53	22	193	14
2	150	13	55	22	205	15
3	167	14	43	17	210	15
4	157	14	21	8	178	15
5	140	12	21	8	161	13
6	139	12	9	4	148	10
7	65	6	7	3	72	5
8	33	3	2	1	35	2
9	17	1	—	—	17	1
10	6	1	—	—	6	—
11	2	—	—	—	2	—
Single men	32	3	8	3	40	3
Total	1,155		248		1,403	

¹² James C. Malin, *The Grassland of North America* (Lawrence, Kans., 1947), in his chapter on "Population Studies" used only the ages of farm operators, and found that the median age for farm operators in certain selected townships in Kansas in 1860 ranged from 32.8 to 37.0 (according to rainfall belt), p. 289. Curti, *Making of an American Community*, 56, taking the ages of all "gainfully employed," found that in 1850 in Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, 43 per cent were between the ages of 20 and 29, 33 per cent between the ages of 30 and 39.

give a truer answer as to the age of the men in the westward movement. Of the total of 664 non-householders, something over half lived with their families. Added to the 342 farm laborer-relatives are 53 non-farm workers who lived with parents, giving a total of 395 of the 664 non-householders living as members of a family group, rather than as independent workers hiring out their labor and boarding with some householder. Since the movement into Wapello County was obviously a family movement, then the householder or head of the family provided the impetus. In the case of Wapello County, by 1850, the largest percentage, 38, were between the ages of thirty-one and forty. Likewise, 32 per cent were above forty-one, while 30 per cent were below thirty.

Table IV, on the number of children in the various households, is a further indication of the maturity of the Wapello County population in 1850.

The scarcity of single men on the frontier, coupled with the small percentage of families with no children (mostly very young couples and a few elderly couples), is another indication that Wapello County was largely settled by family groups of some maturity.

ORIGINS

Where did these people come from? This is another question that the census taker has answered. The early historians of Iowa liked to credit New England with the source of Iowa's population, although admitting that possibly the immigrants had merely descended from New England families who had stopped for a generation or two in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, or Indiana. In 1906 an enterprising historian, Frank I. Herriott of Drake University, studied Iowa's early institutional development, questioned these generalizations, and by using the published census data concluded that men from the South had had more influence on Iowa's early years than had New Englanders.¹³ He also found that, as early as 1850, more Iowans

TABLE V
STATE OF BIRTH, TOTAL HOUSEHOLDERS, 1850

	South		N.E.		Old N.W.		Mid. Atl.		Foreign	
		%		%		%		%		%
Farmers (1,155)	493	43	38	3	386	34	189	16	49	4
Non-Farmers (248)	79	32	22	9	79	32	53	21	15	6
Total (1,403)	572	41	60	4	465	33	242	17	64	5

¹³ Frank I. Herriott, "Whence Came the Pioneers of Iowa?" *Annals of Iowa* (3rd ser.), 7:367-79, 446-65 (April, July, 1906).

were born in the states of the Old Northwest than in any other group of states, and that, of the rest, more were Southern-born than New England-born. However, Herriott used the published figures only, which includes all the population. By taking only the birthplaces of the heads of households, those who motivated the migration, the historian can still endorse Herriott's findings, at least for Wapello County.

Table V shows clearly that the states of the South and the Old Northwest far outnumbered New England as birthplaces of Wapello County's early population. Table VI shows which states are included in this summary, and the number from each state.

TABLE VI

	<i>Farmers</i>	<i>Non-Farmers</i>		<i>Farmers</i>	<i>Non-Farmers</i>
SOUTH			MIDDLE ATLANTIC		
Alabama	3	—	Delaware	5	1
Georgia	1	—	New Jersey	16	4
Kentucky	174	32	New York	53	18
Maryland	22	7	Pennsylvania	114	30
Missouri	2	1	District of Columbia	1	—
North Carolina	61	5		—	—
South Carolina	7	1		189	53
Tennessee	67	11	FOREIGN		
Virginia	156	22	Canada	2	—
	—	—	England	10	5
	493	79	France	2	—
NEW ENGLAND			Germany	9	6
Connecticut	3	1	Holland	9	1
Maine	6	4	Ireland	14	2
Massachusetts	12	5	Scotland	1	1
New Hampshire	8	6	Sweden	2	—
Rhode Island	—	1		—	—
Vermont	9	5		49	15
	—	—			
	38	22			
OLD NORTHWEST					
Illinois	19	6			
Indiana	126	14			
Ohio	241	59			
	—	—			
	386	79			

From this table it can be seen that Kentucky, Virginia, Ohio, and Penn-

sylvania account for 685 (more than half the total of 1,155 farmers), and that the same states provided 143, or more than half, the 248 non-farmers. In fact, in almost every case, a similar proportion of farmers and non-farmers were born in the same states.

However, this does not give an entirely true picture of the source of migration to Wapello County. Actually, very few of the early settlers came directly from their state of birth. This is especially true of men born in states far removed from Iowa. Such was the fluidity of population in the Middle West at this time, that it is a rare case when the parents and children in a family were born in the same state. To check on the migration of families, the manuscript census books are useful. From the birth-places of the children in many of the families, the previous state of residence can be determined for 864 of the farmers and 143 of the non-farmers in Wapello County in 1850. Based on a compilation of this information, the states of the Old Northwest were the source of the great majority of the early settlers, as shown in Table VII.

TABLE VII
STATE OF ORIGIN, TOTAL HOUSEHOLDERS, 1850

	<i>South</i>		<i>N.E.</i>		<i>Old N.W.</i>		<i>Mid. Atl.</i>		<i>Foreign</i>	
		%		%		%		%		%
Farmers (864)	117	14	1	—	699	81	34	4	13	1
Non-Farmers (143)	27	19	2	1	107	75	7	5	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total (1,007)	144	14	3	—	806	80	41	5	13	1

Of the 1,007 settlers whose state of origin can be determined, 824 were born in the four states of Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, and Indiana. Of these same 1,007 settlers, 802 moved to Iowa from the three states of Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois. Thus, in any study of the outside influences on the development of a state, some attention must be given to the states of origin as well as the states of birth of the settlers.

To determine the number of moves made by the families in Wapello County in 1850, a check of those households with children born in different states was made. This data was obtained on 623 farmers, 209 of the farmers not in the agricultural census, and 146 non-farmers. Of this total of 978 householders, 22 per cent moved from their native state direct to Iowa; 66 per cent had moved once before coming to Iowa; 11 per cent, twice; and only 1 per cent three or more times. A breakdown in the farm and non-farm groups shows little variation in these percentages. Also,

TABLE VIII
ORIGINS — HOUSEHOLDERS — WAPELLO COUNTY, 1850

Birthplace	No.	From Birth- place	Holland	Illinois	Indiana	Kentucky	La.	Mo.	N.Y.	Ohio	Pa.	Tenn.	Va.	Wis.
Alabama	1				1									
Canada	2									2				
Connecticut	2				2									
Delaware	3			1	1					1				
District of Columbia	1				1									
England	14			6				2		4	1	1		
France	2		1							1				
Georgia	1			1										
Germany	10		1		4	2				3				
Holland	7		6							1				
Illinois	8		7											
Indiana	80		59	15		1		1		2				
Ireland	12		5					3		5				1
Kentucky	155		15	37	1			12	1	8		1		
Maine	4		1	2	80					1				
Maryland	23			4	6					11			2	
Massachusetts	11			1	4				1	4	1			
New Hampshire	10			4	2					3				1
New Jersey	15		1	1	6			1		6				
New York	49		8	4	15	2		4		14	2			
North Carolina	55		4	11	26	3		5		1		5		
Ohio	180		73	31	60			13			1		1	1
Pennsylvania	112		20	14	32	1		3		42			1	
Scotland	1													
South Carolina	8		1	2	4					1				
Sweden	2		2											
Tennessee	51		10	16	21			1		2	1			
Virginia	146		8	20	42	9		12		53		2		
Vermont	13			1	2			3	3	4				
Total	978	221	1	171	310	18	1	60	5	169	6	9	4	3

interestingly enough, the percentage in each category of those who stayed to 1860 is about 39 per cent (except for those who had made four or more moves — their number is so small as to make a percentage figure meaningless). Also, the difference in the percentages of those who stayed to 1860 in the farm and non-farm groups varies only slightly.

Another breakdown of these 978 householders is shown in Table VIII, which gives the numbers that came to Iowa direct from their state of birth and the numbers that came from other states. Again, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio are the states of birth or origin for the majority of those listed. This table does not show the intervening moves of these settlers, but it does show that the moves were mostly down the Ohio valley, whether the pioneer was southern- or northern-born.

To check this pattern of movement further, a comparison was made of the successive moves of a sample of 400 Wapello County settlers. The result showed that the Ohio Valley funneled off the migrants from the New England states, the Middle Atlantic states, and the South. Virginians moved first to Kentucky, Tennessee, or into Ohio or Indiana, before moving on to Iowa, while New Englanders seemed to go straight into the Old Northwest before proceeding westward.

After reaching Wapello County, what did these settlers do, and how did they prosper? Table I answers the question as to what they did, by listing the numbers in each occupation. The non-farm occupations in Table I indicate that the county had the kind of diversified economy to be expected on a frontier. Although farmers predominated, professional men, merchants, and members of the building trades were plentiful, considering the small population. In addition, nine tailors, two hatters, and sixteen shoemakers provided a certain degree of sophistication. Only the women seem neglected in the county in 1850 — no dressmakers or milliners were included in the census. The blacksmiths (31 of them in 1850) were important in any community. They were the men who provided the farmer with his tools and shod his horses. Three potters, three tinnerns, one silversmith, and eighteen cabinet makers made the settlers' household wares and furniture; twenty millers ground his grain into flour; eight ministers served his churches; and seven schoolteachers taught his children. Many farmers also served in dual roles, listing themselves as carpenters, blacksmiths, or even ministers and physicians in the population census, but also reporting farms in the agricultural census.

FARMERS

How large were the farms in Wapello County in 1850 and what was their value? Table IX shows the number of farms by sizes, total acres, and total values.¹⁴

TABLE IX
ACRES AND VALUE, WAPELLO COUNTY, 1850

<i>Acreage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Total acres</i>	<i>Total value</i>
Under 40	87	2,710	\$ 16,620
41-80	121	8,768	52,640
81-120	158	17,235	102,500
121-160	147	22,347	123,480
161-200	102	19,254	100,660
201-240	63	14,286	85,740
241-280	35	9,317	53,240
281-320	37	11,371	64,600
321-360	24	8,262	52,450
361-400	21	8,262	45,070
401-500	16	7,566	44,340
501-600	9	5,085	28,600
Over 601	9	6,538	39,650
Total	829	141,001	\$809,590

From these figures, the averages can be determined: average size of farm, 173 acres; average value per farm, \$977; average value per acre, \$5.74. This last figure, the average value per acre, indicates that in the seven years since the county had been opened to settlement, land values had risen, since probably some of the land was purchased at the government price of \$1.25 per acre. Wapello County consists of 428 square miles of territory, or 273,920 acres.¹⁵ By 1850 a little over 51 per cent, or 141,001 acres, was in the 829 farms in the agricultural census of that year. This indicates a rapid settlement of the county, and a fairly brief "pioneer" period.

How did the farmers who stayed until 1860 fare? Of the 377 who remained until that date, only 285 have been used for comparison purposes,

¹⁴ The number of farms in Table IX does not agree with the number of farms given in Table II. The reason for this is that there were actually a few more farms than farm householders, because a number of men were listed in the agricultural census who were not householders. There were 831 farms listed in the agricultural census, 2 of which gave no acreage or value, and thus are not included in this table.

¹⁵ *Soil Survey of Iowa, Wapello County* (Soil Survey Report No. 18, Agricultural Experiment Station, Iowa State College of Agric. and Mech. Arts, Ames, Iowa, January, 1921), 3.

since only that number were listed in both agricultural censuses. Table X shows their holdings in 1850 as compared to their holdings in 1860, indicating a one-third increase in value, but practically no increase in total acreage. This does not mean that the farmers did not sell or buy land — some of the larger farms were reduced by 1860; many of the smaller were increased, as will be seen by the different acreage in the various sizes. That the total acreage of these 285 farms is about the same for the two years is a coincidence.

TABLE X
ACRES AND VALUE, 1850 AND 1860

Size	1850			1860	
	No.	Acres	Value	Acres	Value
Under 40	12	450	\$ 2,775	1155	\$ 12,800
41-80	34	2548	15,710	3633	49,850
81-120	43	4716	26,450	5966	89,290
121-160	60	9080	51,450	10402	148,840
161-200	42	8060	46,180	8440	136,170
201-240	21	4842	28,800	4821	82,500
241-280	16	4272	23,980	4448	73,240
281-320	18	5550	30,000	4342	69,000
321-360	12	4128	26,700	4049	64,500
361-400	11	4350	22,900	3915	48,100
401-500	8	3725	22,200	3013	49,900
501-600	3	1620	10,000	1107	10,900
Over 601	5	3860	18,900	2780	45,700
Total	285	57,201	\$326,045	58,017	\$880,790
Averages		200	\$ 1,144	204	\$ 3,090

The average farm in the county in 1861 was 161 acres; thus, those who stayed from 1850 to 1860 had slightly larger farms, on the average. The same applies to average value per acre. In the above table, the average value per acre is \$15.17; for the county as a whole in 1860, the figure is \$13.98.¹⁶ One explanation for this, of course, would be that the older

¹⁶ Sizes of farms and value per acre in the published census returns show a decline in the size of the average Wapello County farm from 1850 to 1880:

	Number of farms	Average value per acre	Average acres per farm
1850	829	173	\$ 5.74
1860	920	161	13.98
1870	1703	124	27.87
1880	2042	128	24.54

Census of Iowa, 1836-1880 (Des Moines, 1883), 243, 246, 268, 272.

farms had more improved acreage, thereby increasing the value. But the conclusion can be drawn that those who had been in the county since 1850 or before had larger, more valuable farms than the population as a whole.

Those who stayed were more prosperous in 1850, also, as is indicated by the fact that while the average value per farm for all farmers in Wapello County in 1850 was \$977, the average value in 1850 for the 285 who stayed until 1860 was \$1,144. By 1860 their holdings had almost tripled in value, both per acre and in the average value per farm, which had increased to \$3,090, as shown in Table X.

These conclusions should not imply that the more prosperous always stayed while the less prosperous moved on. This is a common assumption about the chronic movers on the frontier, but a comparison of the number of moves made by Wapello County settlers and their property in 1850 shows that those who had made one move to Iowa had an average property value of \$967; those who had made two moves, an average of \$1,021; and those who had made three moves, an average of \$1,000. These figures are close to or above the county average of \$977 for 1850, indicating that lack of success may not always have been the motivating factor in moves from one frontier to another. Thus the only conclusion that can be drawn from the increasing prosperity of the 285 in Wapello County is that in this particular county those who stayed were more prosperous than those who moved on. Also, the number of moves made by those in the county in 1850 does not account for settlers who may have come into the county and then moved on before the census date of 1850; information on the number of such settlers could only be obtained, in some instances, from the county land records, which have not been used for this article.

The type of agriculture practiced on the farms of Wapello County in 1850 was typical Midwestern farming. Since only about 35 per cent of the acreage on the farms was improved, only about 50,000 of the 141,000 acres in farms were under cultivation. Almost all farmers reported a machinery value which seems to have had little or nothing to do with the size of the farm or its improvements. Evidently the amount of machinery owned depended on the agricultural practices of the farmer, not on the size of his farm.

As to the livestock owned and the produce of the farm, a sample of 200 farms shows the number of farms reporting and the percentage in each category listed by the census takers.

TABLE XI
PRODUCTION, 200 WAPELLO COUNTY FARMS, 1850

	<i>Number of farms reporting</i>	<i>Percentage of farms reporting</i>
Horses	172	86
Milch cows	191	96
Other cattle	131	66
Oxen	68	34
Mules	6	3
Sheep	116	58
Swine	186	93
Corn	192	96
Wheat	153	77
Oats	123	67
Buckwheat	22	11
Small grains	9	5
Wool	122	61
Irish potatoes	76	38
Sweet potatoes	12	6
Butter	186	93
Cheese	11	6
Hay	56	28
Honey	55	28
Flax	14	7

These figures, as reported in the census, apply to livestock on the farm on June 1, 1850, and production for the year ending June 1, 1850. This would account for the fact that more farms reported milch cows than the production of butter, for instance; or that fewer farms reported sheep than wool. None reported any large numbers of livestock; two or three horses, one or two milch cows, a few "other cattle," a dozen or so swine, and perhaps a few sheep comprised the livestock of an average farm. The 1850 census shows no effort yet toward the development of large herds, either of beef or dairy cattle, nor any concentration on hog raising.

The fact that 28 per cent of the 200 farms reported some production of hay indicates that Wapello County farmers had already passed the pioneer stage of farming, where the natural grasses provided feed for the animals. A scattering of farms in 1850 reported small amounts of unusual crops for the Midwest, but on the whole Table XI lists the standard production of Wapello County farms in 1850.

NON-FARMERS

A comparison of the wealth of the farmer and the non-farmer in Wapello County is difficult, since the 1850 census reports only the value of real estate, while the 1860 returns include both real and personal property values. Naturally, the farmer would have a larger amount of real estate than the town dweller. Furthermore, many of the non-farmers reported no property value at all in 1850. By eliminating those of the 97 non-farmers

TABLE XII

VALUE OF PROPERTY — NON-FARMERS, 1850 TO 1860

1850 Occupation	Number who stayed	1850 property	1860 property
Blacksmith	3	\$ 2,980	\$ 10,645
Brick maker	1	700	1,100
Cabinet maker	2	420	3,400
Carpenter	11	7,870	51,113
Civil engineer	1	230	1,050
Clerk	3	4,000	14,700
Cooper	1	200	590
Fanning mill maker	1	2,660	14,500
Grocer	2	600	5,100
Lawyer	2	3,200	24,500
Mason	1	70	800
Merchant	8	7,265	87,965
Miller	2	4,720	10,800
Minister	1	1,800	4,200
Peddler	1	400	400
Physician	5	8,550	28,365
Plasterer	1	75	1,500
Printer	1	500	5,000
Schoolteacher	1	300	2,260
Sheriff	1	1,600	5,500
Shoemaker	1	700	1,000
Silversmith	1	400	300
Stage driver	2	860	2,290
Surveyor	1	200	650
Tailor	1	350	625
Tinner	1	2,000	13,000
Wagon maker	2	400	3,800
Totals	58	\$53,050	\$285,153
Averages		\$ 915	\$ 4,916

who stayed to 1860, but who did not report property either in 1850 or in 1860, only 58 men can be listed, as shown in Table XII.

This table shows that those who stayed prospered more than did the 285 farmers shown in Table X. However, since the number of non-farmers is smaller, the comparison may not be valid. A safe assumption, based on Table XIII, is that a slightly larger percentage of the prosperous in both classes tended to remain. For instance, of all farmers in 1850, 27 per cent held property over \$1,000; of all non-farmers, 24 per cent. Of those who stayed until 1860, 37 per cent of the farmers and 27 per cent of the non-farmers held property over \$1,000.

TABLE XIII
VALUE OF PROPERTY IN PERCENTAGES, 1850 TO 1860

<i>Value</i>	<i>All in 1850</i>		<i>Those who stayed to 1860</i>	
	<i>% Farmers</i>	<i>% Non-Farmers</i>	<i>% Farmers</i>	<i>% Non-Farmers</i>
Under \$100	2	14	1	11
\$100-500	33	48	23	45
\$501-1000	38	14	39	17
\$1001-2000	20	14	28	17
\$2001-3000	5	8	6	8
Over \$3001	2	2	3	2

For a better understanding of the urban economy of the county in 1860, a complete study of the census returns for that year would have to be made. Without such a study, however, certain assumptions can be made which would explain the prosperity of the 58 non-farmers as shown in Table XII. By 1860 the population of the two towns in the county on the river — Ottumwa and Eddyville — had almost trebled, indicating a growing need in the county for town services.¹⁷

Wapello County, bisected by the Des Moines River and on a direct line with Burlington on the Mississippi River, was so situated that it would inevitably become a point on the westward-building roads and railroads. Thus transportation to outside markets occupied the attention of Wapello County settlers during the decade of the 1850's. Improvement of the navigability of the Des Moines River having failed early in the decade, attention turned first to the building of a plank road to Burlington, and then to

¹⁷ In 1854 (the first date to give town populations), Ottumwa had 564 people; in 1860, 1,632. In 1854 Eddyville reported 351; in 1860, 917. *Ibid.*, 592.

a railroad from that same city. At the end of the decade, on September 1, 1859, the Burlington & Missouri River Railroad reached Ottumwa. Therefore, Ottumwa was sure to develop into an important center of transportation. This would account for the increase in wealth of at least some of the 58 shown in Table XII. In addition, several other settlers who had been in the county in 1850 and had reported no property for that year, listed substantial property in 1860, again indicating the growth of urban wealth, much of which can be attributed to the improved transportation brought by the railroad. Within seventeen years Wapello County had progressed from an unsettled frontier to a center of railroad transportation.

Thus the county does not fit the usual account of a frontier community, as pictured by Frederick Jackson Turner in his famous essay. The county's period of "beginning over again" was extremely short.¹⁸ Not only did the county advance rapidly economically, but socially and politically as well. On February 14, 1844, less than a year after the first settlement, the territorial legislature provided for the organization of the county and set the date for the election of county officers. By May 20, 1844, the elected Board of Commissioners began to hold sessions, and by July 4 of that year taxes had been assessed. On September 14, 1844, a term of the District Court was held in Ottumwa, presided over, not by the usual caricature of the ignorant frontier judge, but by Charles Mason, chief justice of the territorial supreme court.¹⁹

The settlers of Wapello County held their land under the Pre-emption Act of 1841 at first; not until October of 1848 were they able to purchase it, when public land sales were held in Fairfield in adjoining Jefferson County. Beginning in 1849, the land sales were held in Ottumwa. In order to insure their claims, the settlers had organized a claim association to attend the land sales and protect each other against outside bidding, the only instance of frontier self-government in Wapello County.²⁰ Several reports

¹⁸ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1921), 2.

¹⁹ G. D. R. Boyd, "Sketches of History and Incidents Connected with the Settlement of Wapello County, from 1843 to 1859, Inclusive," *Annals of Iowa* (1st ser.), 5:941-3 (July, 1867). All the courts and judges were not of this high calibre, of course. For incidents of lawyers and judges, see below in this issue of the JOURNAL, "Source Material of Iowa History."

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 6:37 (January, 1868); *History of Wapello County*, 472-3; Allan G. Bogue, "The Iowa Claim Clubs: Symbol and Substance," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 45:231-53 (September, 1958).

of frontier rowdyism in the county in the early years have to do with land: one, the "Dahlonge War," in the first year of settlement, a small farce over an instance of claim-jumping; and a sensational murder at the land sale in Ottumwa in 1849, when two men shot it out over a bid, one dying of his wounds, the other living to stand trial for murder and to win an acquittal.²¹

COMMUNITY LEADERS

Finally, what type of men were the community leaders? Based on scattering information in the county histories, 160 names appear as leaders in business, politics, education, and agricultural society activities. Of these, 102, or 64 per cent, were farmers; 58, or 36 per cent, non-farmers. Contrasted to the percentages for the total wage earners, as shown in Table I, of 78 per cent farmers and 22 per cent non-farmers, this would indicate that non-farmers were more likely to be active in community activities, in comparison to their total numbers, than the farmers. The occupations of the 58 non-farmers who became community leaders is shown in Table XIV.

TABLE XIV
NON-FARMERS AS COMMUNITY LEADERS

Blacksmith	3	Editor	1	Minister	2
Brick maker	1	Farm laborer	1	Physician	7
Cabinet maker	1	Farm lab.-rel.	2	Potter	1
Carpenter	4	Lawyer	8	Printer	1
Clerk	3	Leather	1	Shoemaker	1
Cooper	1	Merchant	9	Sheriff	1
County clerk	1	Miller	5	State official	1
County collector	1	Millwright	1	Tinner	1

Although this list of occupations for the community leaders indicates a fairly wide spread, it will be obvious at once that lawyers, merchants, millers, and physicians were dominant. These are occupations important, in fact essential, to a frontier community. Perhaps, if this sort of leadership appeared in sufficient other community studies, the conclusion would be that there is a connection between occupation and leadership. No such conclusion can be drawn from this study, however, because of the small number examined.

²¹ *History of Wapello County*, 378-9; Boyd, "Sketches of . . . Wapello County," 6:127 (January, 1868). For other accounts of typical frontier rowdyism, see below in this issue of the *JOURNAL*, "Source Material of Iowa History."

The average age of these community leaders follows closely that of the total working population as shown in Table III.

TABLE XV
AVERAGE AGES OF COMMUNITY LEADERS

<i>Ages</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Ages</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
Under 20	3	2	61-70	2	1
21-30	35	22	Over 71	1	0
31-40	68	43			
41-50	32	20	Total	160	100
51-60	19	12			

These ages are those of 1850, which accounts for the fact that three are under twenty years of age. Within the decade, they attained some prominence in the county. The largest percentage of householders in Table III was between the ages of 31-40; a slightly larger percentage of the community leaders was in this age bracket, indicating that this was the dominant age group of the county, both for the settlers as a whole and for the group that led in community affairs.

As for the states of birth and origin of the community leaders, Table XVI shows a striking similarity to Tables V and VII.

TABLE XVI
ORIGINS OF COMMUNITY LEADERS

	<i>Total</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N.E.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Old N.W.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mid. Atl.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Foreign</i>	<i>%</i>
Born	160	73	46	7	4	49	30	25	16	6	4
From	104	10	10	-	-	88	85	6	5	-	-

Again, this table shows that the community leaders were a cross-section of the whole community, both as to states of birth and origin.

As far as the mobility of these community leaders is concerned, there does not seem to be a great difference between them and the population as a whole. The moves of only 94 of the 160 can be determined, and of these, 18 per cent moved from their native state to Iowa; 60 per cent moved twice, 17 per cent three times, and 5 per cent four times. Compared to the percentages for the whole population (22, 66, 11, and 1 per cent respectively), and considering the fact that only 94 are included in the community leadership table, there seems to be little appreciable difference here.

Only in the matter of average wealth do the community leaders differ sufficiently from the whole group to indicate that there might be a connec-

TABLE XVII
FARM SIZES OF COMMUNITY LEADERS

<i>Size</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Value</i>
Under 40	4	160	\$ 950
41-80	4	277	1,600
81-120	17	1881	11,460
121-160	19	2910	18,340
161-200	14	2730	17,460
201-240	9	2059	16,350
241-280	7	1810	10,840
281-320	4	1214	8,260
321-360	10	3481	25,350
361-400	2	770	3,820
401-500	7	3177	21,790
501-600	0	0	0
Over 601	4	3022	18,900
Totals	101	23,491	\$155,120
Average		232	\$ 1,536 (\$6.61 per acre)

TABLE XVIII
FARM SIZES, COMMUNITY LEADERS, 1850 TO 1860

<i>1850</i>				<i>1860</i>	
<i>Size</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Value</i>
Under 40	2	80	\$ 450	190	\$ 2,100
41-80	3	210	1,000	353	5,800
81-120	8	872	4,470	1306	20,770
121-160	13	1970	12,440	2449	41,170
161-200	6	1150	7,860	1142	24,200
201-240	4	925	5,500	1208	19,000
241-280	5	1290	7,340	1691	26,900
281-320	3	917	5,600	784	16,120
321-360	5	1751	13,050	2012	29,000
361-400	1	400	1,600	300	5,000
401-500	3	1381	11,530	1446	27,600
501-600	—	—	—	—	—
Over 601	2	1630	7,900	1340	14,000
Total	55	12,576	\$78,740	14,221	\$231,660
Averages		229	\$ 1,432	258	\$ 4,212
Av./acre			\$6.26		\$16.29

tion between property and leadership. The 101 farms²² owned by these men, as shown in Table XVII, were slightly larger on the average, and worth slightly more per acre, than those of the total farm population as shown in Table IX.

Of the 101 farm operators in 1850, 55 remained until 1860. Contrasting Table XVII with Table X, it will be seen again that these 55 prospered more than did the 285 in the latter table. Their property was worth more in 1850; it also increased more in size and value by 1860.

Of the 58 non-farm leaders, 34 remained in 1860, but only 25 reported property values in both 1850 and 1860. These 25 had a total property of \$35,220 in 1850, for an average of \$1,408. In 1860 their wealth had increased to \$176,120, for an average of \$7,044. Compared with the 58 non-farmers in Table XII, these figures show that the community leaders prospered more than did the other non-farmers. Furthermore, the average wealth of the 104 out of the 160 leaders who stayed from 1850 to 1860 is \$1,295 for 1850, \$6,048 for 1860.

So, on all counts, those who can be classed as community leaders prospered more than did the total in all occupations. In ages and states of birth or origin, they were a cross-section of the community, but as a group they were wealthier. Whether their leadership stemmed from their wealth, or whether the intangibles of personality which made them money-makers also made them civic leaders is almost impossible to determine. Some few of the 160 were later written about in the county histories, always in glowing terms, so that the information about them, aside from bare facts, is difficult to assess. A study of as much as can be learned about leaders in any community, from county histories, contemporary newspapers, and letters when available, would prove profitable in studying the development of the leadership of any area, but it would entail a great deal of supposition. All that can be said with certainty about the Wapello County leaders is that they were, as a group, wealthier than their neighbors.

CONCLUSION

This article has been based entirely on the information available in the federal population and agricultural censuses, and the compilation of this information into various tables. Other facts than those compiled can be

²² There are 101 farms among the 102 farmers and 58 non-farmers in this group because several of the farmers were not in the agricultural census, while a number of the non-farmers also owned farms.

obtained from the censuses, depending on the questions the researcher asks. No local study can be made without this type of information as the groundwork. The next step should be work in the county records, when available. County newspapers can also be a valuable source of information, when used with discretion. From the gathering of such basic facts, the historian will then be equipped to generalize about the development of a particular community. A number of such studies, based on different localities and times, will produce a truer picture of the frontier as it developed in America than is now possible.

As has been pointed out, Wapello County — in fact the whole state of Iowa — was settled so rapidly that the frontier period was compressed within a very few years. Studies of sample counties in the states of the Old Northwest, or in the Great Plains area, should provide contrasting, possibly differing, accounts. Iowa moved from frontier to statehood in thirteen years — from 1833 to 1846. The frontier procession, as described by Turner, marched single file:

. . . the buffalo following the trail to the salt springs, the Indian, the fur-trader and hunter, the cattle-raiser, the pioneer farmer — and the frontier has passed by.²³

In Iowa, this procession was hardly single file — the movers trod on each other's heels, or walked side by side. And certainly in Wapello County, and in many other parts of Iowa, another type of pioneer came along with the farmer — the town builder. On the very day that the county was opened, the men of the Appanoose Rapids Company raced with the farmers, and laid out the future county seat of Ottumwa, while their neighbors staked out farms. Both groups contributed to the growth of the county; both conquered their environment in record time; and both developed leaders who directed community activities. A study of some county in the states from which the majority of these settlers came — in Indiana or Ohio for instance — should prove enlightening.

²³ Turner, *Frontier in American History*, 12.

SOURCE MATERIAL OF IOWA HISTORY

PIONEER REMINISCENCES OF WAPELLO COUNTY

[On August 10, 1912, the *Ottumwa Courier* published a series of articles on the history of Ottumwa and Wapello County, calling on the memories of some of the early settlers to provide material. Among these are two articles of value: one an interview with Alvin C. Leighton, who came to the county as a child in 1843; the other by Edward H. Stiles, a lawyer who arrived in Ottumwa in 1856. Leighton's father was a carpenter, who settled first on a farm in Compentine township and then moved to Ottumwa in 1846. Stiles rose high in local and state politics, served in the Iowa House and Senate, and was a reporter for the State Supreme Court from 1867 to 1875 during which time he compiled fifteen volumes of Supreme Court Reports. In 1916 he published his *Recollections and Sketches of Notable Lawyers and Public Men of Early Iowa*, an invaluable source of information on the legal fraternity of the state. A. C. Leighton was still an active Ottumwa businessman in 1912; Stiles had retired and lived in Pasadena, California.

These two articles are here reproduced to show the life of a pioneer county in its formative years, as seen by the participants.]

REMINISCENCES OF ALVIN C. LEIGHTON

Older than the county by nearly four years, and still one of the most active of its citizens despite his more than seventy years, Alvin C. Leighton, when not too busy with his vast business interests, can give the history of Wapello County and especially Ottumwa from memory that is pleasing to hear and entertaining to a great degree. . . .

Mr. Leighton was born in Illinois in 1839, and came with his parents to Iowa in 1841. His father and mother came to Iowa with his grandfather, his mother's parent, and for a time they stopped in Burlington where the father of Mr. Leighton met Gen. Dodge and Gen. Grimes [Augustus Caesar Dodge, then Iowa's territorial delegate to Congress, and James W. Grimes, then attorney in Burlington. Neither man was a "General."] who had but recently returned from this vicinity and were enthusiastic about the splen-

did prospect of what was then the new purchase. The father of Mr. Leighton was for going farther west, but was prevailed upon by Generals Dodge and Grimes through their pleasing description of the new purchase to change his mind. The two generals told him to bide his time near Burlington, and urged him to settle for a while at what was then called Dodge City (a few houses in the woods some ten miles out of Burlington) where they could put in a crop or two and still be in time for the opening of the new purchase or Wapello County.

The immigrants from Illinois took the advice of their new friends and for nearly two years located near Burlington, and when on May 1, 1843, the legal birth of Wapello County took place, they were at the accouchment and a claim in Competine township followed. The father of Mr. Leighton went ahead to the opening of the county and settled where, after building a log cabin which with his ability as a carpenter he embellished with a heavy door cut from a broad tree, a clapp [sic] board roof and smooth floor, he returned for the family and his father-in-law.

At this juncture Mr. Leighton indulged in reminiscence sufficiently to recall what his mother often told him about how she was impressed with her first view of pioneering in Wapello County. He stated that she would often tell him of how sick she grew of the wild west when reaching the family's first home in the county after leaving Burlington. It seems that in the interval between the building of the cabin and the coming of the family to their new home, the weeds had attained a startling growth about the cabin. Mrs. Leighton, mother of A. C. Leighton, having been one of those housewives whose door yard was of necessity as important to be neat as the interior of the house, and to whom the sight of weeds and an unkempt yard was distressing, would often in later years relate to her son how sick of the west she grew when beholding the new home almost hidden in weeds. She was told by her husband that when he once mowed them they would no longer prove an eyesore and thus she was appeased.

Three years sufficed for the family in Competine township as they had heard good things of Ottumwa and the father being a carpenter, he saw possibilities ahead for those of his craft, hence in October, 1846, the family having harvested their crops, came to Ottumwa and remained there. In Ottumwa grew up the man who became one of the city's best citizens and one who is one of the large land holders of the county. Just under four years when he arrived in the county that eventful May morning that the

county was legally born, he was not quite seven years old when he became one of the population of Ottumwa. Commenting on the way the town was then laid out, he complimented the intelligence of the men who were the first to lay out the village, and particularly did he comment on the wisdom and foresight of those who made Market street the wide thoroughfare that it is, saying that they saw into the future more than did most people here in that day. Few then seemed to think the town had a future at all unusual and aside from such instances as the width of Market street, it appeared that the town would be a little else than a village unless something unusual developed.

"My first home in Ottumwa was one of eighteen houses, all that Ottumwa boasted of in October, 1846, and I don't recall that any were built more than those I have in mind and included in the eighteen mentioned. Ours was a log house as was most of the others whether residence or store although there were some few frame houses, but not many." Thus Mr. Leighton replied when asked for his earliest recollection of Ottumwa. . . .

It was in recalling the original eighteen houses that he was carried back to the village days in Ottumwa. The bounds of the city were then at Cass street in the west and Union street in the east. A few houses were erected on Fifth street, and the river was the south boundary. The houses outside those limits he did not include in the eighteen alluded to. His own home was located at the corner of Fourth and Market streets where the First M. E. church now stands.

He began with the business houses, for even with only eighteen houses in the village there were some stores. Enumerating these, he first alluded to the Seth Richards general store as having been located . . . on Main street. John T. Baldwin, a relative of Judge Baldwin of Council Bluffs, ran a general store opposite Richards' store. . . . Following along the same street, Mr. Leighton next alluded to the old Ottumwa House, the hostelry for these parts at that time. . . . This was a log building and did not boast of elevators, hot and cold water, baths, etc., as do hotels today. Further west on the south side of the street . . . was another log building that housed the grocery business and "Wet Grocery" of Duane F. Gaylord, afterwards the first mayor of Ottumwa, about 1859 [*sic*. 1857]. Mr. Gaylord lived on the river bank at the rear of his store, for the river at that time came close to Main street in that part of the town.

There was no other business house on that side of Main street between

Court and Green streets as recalled by Mr. Leighton. In the block between Market and Green streets on the north side of Main street there was a blacksmith shop. Mr. Leighton stated that he thought that a man named Sharp had a place for the accommodation of travelers situated [near there]. A small log house was also located on West Main street. . . .

The court house was one of the eighteen houses and was a modest affair. It was said to be a two-story building not more than twenty feet high and about twenty by thirty-six feet in size. It contained the offices of the treasurer, clerk, recorder and sheriff . . . and stood on Third Street. Next he came to his own residence in that neighborhood . . . at Fourth and Market streets.

Across the street . . . there was another log house like the Leighton home. Farther east on Fourth street at the southwest corner of Green and Fourth streets, was . . . a frame house, of which there were but few then in Ottumwa. There was nothing else on Fourth street except on the site of the present public library at which place a man named Lewis built a log house. He was a brother of Alvin Lewis and resided there for a time.

Coming from Fourth to Fifth street the next house recalled was the old Jeffrey-Hendershott home in which Judge Hendershott and his father-in-law Mr. Jeffrey [*sic.* Paul C. Jeffries] resided. . . . On the same street but on the opposite side . . . was also a log house but the owner's name could not be recalled by Mr. Leighton.

Dropping back to Second street as one of the forgotten houses came to mind, the wonderful memory of Mr. Leighton recalled the home of Joseph Hayne, a frame structure at the corner of Second and Green streets. The seventeenth house was that of John T. Baldwin which was situated on the . . . hill alongside College street. . . .

Another building that Mr. Leighton for a time was hard pressed to locate was the home of Dr. C. C. Warden at the northeast corner of Jefferson and Main streets. . . . These conclude the location of the eighteen houses that stood in Ottumwa when Alvin C. Leighton came here to live in October, 1846. The following year witnessed the beginning of a building era and Mr. Leighton estimated that 100 houses, mostly frame, were constructed that year. All of these were of a modest character and a few of them were brick. The latter type was constructed by the elder Mr. Leighton for his family and the house stood until very recent times. . . .

At this stage of his recollections, Mr. Leighton indulged in reminiscence

of an early day here when some of the rival clans would gather in Ottumwa on a market day and after an indulgence to some extent in the "wet" groceries, a fight would ensue that made the hair fly. "One of these clans was headed by Mike Tullis," said Mr. Leighton, "and another by the Vessers who came from Bear creek. When the two leaders and their gangs met there was sure to be some one laid out, for these two elements would not mix more than oil will with water. The changes of time, however, finally erased the old scores or supposed scores, and the frequent fights became less until they eventually ceased. I recall a time when as a lad engaged in learning the tinning trade at the old Washburn tin shop, that I saw a Dutchman who worked for the Ottumwa house, throw an axe at Mike Tullis. It seems that Mike was teasing the Dutchman as he was called, who was splitting wood at the time. Finally losing his temper, the Dutchman flung the axe at Tullis, which striking the side of the house, buried itself in the wood almost completely. The nimble Mike, however, was lithe enough to worm out of the way of the axe, and simply remarked as I passed, "He nearly hit me." . . .

Reverting back to reminiscences of Ottumwa at an early day, Mr. Leighton recalled a well-known character. . . . This personage was no other than Tay Sinnamon. He referred to the ready wit of Mr. Sinnamon whom he said built and operated what is now the Ballingall when it was first a three-story hotel building, and he added wings to it later. He especially recalled a building erected by Mr. Sinnamon at the southwest corner of Main and Market streets, for a time occupied by the builder as a grocery store. Mr. Sinnamon made it quite plain that he did not favor partnerships in business, and to emphasize this had his business sign painted accordingly. This read: "T. Sinnamon — going it alone — groceries." . . .

Referring to the period between 1843 and 1860, Mr. Leighton said, "Iowa winters from '43 to '60 were, I imagine, something like the past winter, but I doubt if the thermometer was much under 20 below zero. Sledding was good nearly all of the winter and most of the farmers used sleds made of oak with hickory runners. The winter of 1850-51 was an exceptional one, the snow being four feet deep on the level, and we received the full benefit of the snow, for 1851 was the high water year and all records were shattered for floods on the Des Moines here. It is now generally forgotten, but I remember it still. Overman's ferry crossed the river with people from the south side at old Richmond and came to the

north bank at what is now Central addition, hence on through the timber road the ferry boat was poled to Wapello and Main streets and turning there it proceeded down to the Sinnamon, now the Ballingall hotel.

"My father and the late Dr. C. C. Warden carried on a general store. . . . The water stood at the bottom of the door sill and my father drove a nail in the building marking the highest point at which the water stood. Customers came in small boats as the water stood two feet or more in Main street from Wapello to Green street. The ferry boat would drop the people off at the stores upon each side of the street before landing at Green street which was the end of the water deep enough for boating. A similar condition obtained on Second street from Court to Green. . . .

"Steamboats during the flood of 1851 tied up to large cottonwood trees that stood in Main street. . . . A few years later the town built a decent wharf at the foot of Court street using broken stone in the construction, and the steamboats landed there until the last of the river traffic in 1858. Then the steamboats gave way to the B. & M. railroad [the Burlington & Missouri River Railroad] which was already near Ottumwa, and teams hauled the freight from the end of the road to Ottumwa. The coming of the Burlington road to Ottumwa the following year gave no place for the steamboats as freight haulers, for the road monopolized the business. At that period Ottumwa had become the best city in the state between Burlington and Council Bluffs. . . ."

Continuing in his reminiscences, Mr. Leighton stated . . . "Prior to 1856 the buildings were largely built of native lumber, — white oak and walnut which was sawed at the Myers & Coffin mill at the foot of Market street on the east side of the street. Josiah Myers, now a resident of South Ottumwa, was a member of the firm of Myers & Coffin and is the only living member of the firm that did so much to make Ottumwa the city that it now is. . . ."

Among the merchants of the old days, Mr. Leighton referred to John Pumroy who operated the country drug store. It seems there was a state pharmacy law that regulated the number of drug stores or at least delegated certain powers to the druggist in each county and Mr. Pumroy's store bore the title of "County Drugstore." An incident in connection with the county drug store had to do with the first time a prohibition law was made effective in Iowa. This was in 1854 [sic. 1855], and just how effective it was may be seen from the following story by Mr. Leighton. . . .

"A. J. Davis," said he, "was the Montana millionaire, whose fortune caused the most famous legal fight recalled as the Davis will case that ran in the press some years ago. Mr. Davis had for years operated a distillery at Lowaville, a small place near Eldon and he made a large quantity of the liquor, much of which found its way to Ottumwa for John Pumroy. The county drug store of Mr. Pumroy bought all of its whisky from the Davis distillery, and that was quite a quantity, for in the year following the passage of the prohibition law of '54, John Pumroy bought and had shipped by boat to Ottumwa, no less than 100 barrels of the Davis whisky. I know the number is correct for I counted the barrels as they stood on the new stone wharf at the foot of Court street.

"The effects of the new prohibition law were not what the framers of the law hoped for immediately after it became effective. I have seen many fellows who came to town and would hitch their teams on Market street (for that was really the country man's market in town) who would go to Pumroy's store and swear to a lie for a bottle of whisky which they would drink about the market and then lay in a drunken stupor beneath their wagons to sleep off the effects of their libations. You see the whisky at that time cost Pumroy only thirteen cents per gallon, for the war tax which later went into effect had not yet caused its raise in price. In that connection I am reminded of what I was once told to have been the cause of A. J. Davis leaving Ottumwa for Montana where he later amassed a princely fortune that gave rise to the great fight over his wealth after his death.

"As I recall the story told me many years ago, Davis had determined not to pay the new tax placed on whisky as internal revenue in the early sixties, [which] was levied to help meet the expenses of the war. He concluded to leave this part of the country rather than pay it, and what he is said to have done was to quit the manufacture of the liquor in Iowa. He then loaded all his whisky that he had in stock and this took many teams. When he had it all loaded upon wagons, I am not clear as to whether he used oxen to haul it or not, but at any rate he started his overland trip to the wilds of Montana. I have been told that the whisky he carted from Iowa was the basis of the immense fortune that he left for his heirs to fight over and the lawyers to gather in as fees. . . .

"An occasion such as this floods the memory and one feels that too much cannot be said of the history of Ottumwa from the beginning, but one must stop somewhere, and why not now."

E. H. STILES REVIEWS OTTUMWA'S EARLY HISTORY

On the sixteenth day of December, 1856, I landed from a stage-coach at the only hotel in the place. It was a log structure situated on Main street between Court and Market. . . .

The only brick houses in town at the time, as I now recollect, were that of Albert Mudge, standing on the corner of Main and Jefferson where the opera house now stands, and I think a little dwelling in which Dr. Wood lived. . . . Drs. Wood, Warden, Orr, Thrall and Williamson were the doctors then here. Dr. Warden was the first physician who located in Ottumwa. He came there in 1843 and was about retiring to enter the mercantile field when I went there. Dr. Williamson, I think, had been there some three years and Dr. Thrall came the same year I did. Dr. Wood must, I think, have been the first regular physician who settled there after Dr. Warden. They were all on deck when I went there, and they were all splendid, level headed men and physicians. I doubt if any pioneer settlement has ever been favored with an abler medical staff than Ottumwa had at that time.

The erection of a new hotel was commencing at the corner of Main and Market which was afterwards remodeled, practically rebuilt, and became the Ballingall house. When first erected it was called the Curlew house and on its top was erected quite a large metal cut of that bird. The first proprietors of the Curlew house was Crone and Gilson, both Pennsylvanians, and both returned there in a few years afterward. There was also being commenced by John Pumroy a brick building on the corner of Main and Market opposite the Curlew hotel which was afterward occupied by Pumroy as a drug store. . . . John Pumroy was a very tall man and was very capable in the narration of early incidents, to some of which I gave an attentive ear. . . .

Leaving for the time these individual references, let me say something more regarding the place itself. It was simply a straggling hamlet consisting in the main of low wooden or log buildings. The mercantile part of Main street lay between Market and Court. Upon the completion of the Curlew house building. . . . Simon Adler and B. A. Feineman under the firm name of Adler & Feineman opened a dry goods store in a part of or an adjunct of that building. Nehemiah Baldwin kept a general store on Main, between Court and Market — all the buildings on Main were of wood or log except the two brick buildings the erection of which was being

commenced at the corners of Main and Market. Dr. Warden also had a general store in the same locality in a two story building, the upper story of which I commenced to occupy as a law office in 1858. There were no buildings on Main street west of Court except perhaps a few shanties or little structures farther up the street.

On the south side of Main commencing at Court was a part of the river bottom for quite a long ways out, which was covered with water in the freshet time or high stages of the river, before the construction of the railroad embankments. On this shore line which projected out at the foot of Court street was what was known as the wharf where the steamboats landed that then plied the river in the spring of the year when the water was at a favorable stage. If I recollect rightly the steamers that plied the river were the Edward Manning and Edward Davis, the first named after the quite distinguished father of Calvin Manning and the other Edward Davis, an old riverman and settler.

This Davis and Joel Myers had a sawmill on the east side of and at the foot of Market street. The place when I came was simply a frontier village without paved streets or much of sidewalks, and with mud knee-deep in the wet spring period. The state, it must be remembered, was then in its infancy; it had been admitted into the union only ten years before and the Indians had taken their departure only thirteen years anterior to the period of which I speak; their departing footprints were scarcely effaced; their wailing farewell to the land they loved could almost be heard in the whispering winds of the surrounding forests.

Among the men I found there was Thomas Sinnamon, a big burly Irishman, but a strongly marked and sensible man, who loved his grog and was full of Irish wit and eccentricities. He never used more than the first letter of his Christian name in writing it and when asked his name his reply would be "Tay Sinnamon." He became a justice of the peace and his court was a favorite amusement resort. He was an Irish patriot and disliked everything English. In a case before him one of the lawyers insisting upon a certain point, Tay asked "Where is the law for that? Show it to me in the code." The lawyer replied that it was not a part of the statute law but was in force as a principle or rule of the common law of England which had been adopted and become a part of our jurisprudence. Whereupon the justice excitedly exclaimed, "To hell with your English law and your common law, which you say is made by long custom; for if that be

so, stealing hogs is the common law here for I know that it is their custom to be at it ever since I've been here."

I was five days in coming from Connecticut to Ottumwa. That place was my objective point, for Aaron Pinney, whose first wife was my sister, was operating a sawmill some five miles west of Ottumwa on the bank of the Des Moines river. I came by the railroad to Burlington via Chicago, which was then comparatively new and rough in many of its features adjoining the lake; crossed the Mississippi at Burlington on a ferryboat; came from there to Mt. Pleasant by rail, and from Mt. Pleasant to Ottumwa in one of the western stage coaches. The journey had been longer and the expense greater than I had expected, and when the stage stopped in front of John Potter's log hotel, I found that I had just one dollar left, and that consisted of the worst dollar bill that was ever seen, I think. It was on the Corn Exchange bank of Indiana and was greasy, dirty, creased, crossed and furrowed and wrinkled in every direction. I wanted a dinner before proceeding any farther but was afraid to offer that bill for fear it was a counterfeit. I accordingly went across the street to what proved to be Dr. Warden's store. I handed him the bill and asked him if he would kindly tell me whether it was good or not. He said he could look in the Bank Detective and see; he accordingly picked up a magazine or pamphlet bearing that designation and after looking at it and the bill, said it was all right, and I thereupon proceeded to circulate it for something to eat. This done and the stage starting on toward Eddyville I boarded it again and the driver let me off with my trunk when we reached the house of Nathaniel Bell, near which was the sawmill referred to. I found my brother-in-law, Mr. Aaron Pinney, with the assistance of one of Mr. Nathaniel Bell's boys, Frank.

I learned from him and Mr. Pinney also that a vacancy had occurred by reason of the resignation of the teacher, in what was known as the Comstock school house. I immediately applied for the situation to Mr. Howard, whose first name I have forgotten, the committeeman. He said he was very glad to hire me to fill out the term. I asked if an examination of my fitness was desired. He said no, that he was satisfied I was all right. I was prompted by a spirit of vanity — having some knowledge of Greek and Latin — to remark that I supposed they did not want the languages taught. "Oh, yes," said he. "What ones," said I. "McGuffy's reader and 'rithmetic," was his reply. I felt easier. I was told afterward that Mr. Howard

could neither read nor write, though I can testify that he was a sensible, honorable man who treated me like a gentleman ever afterwards.

In a few days after the contract was closed under which I was to commence the school on the first Monday after Christmas, I learned that the resignation of the schoolmaster had been caused by reason of a row between him and his pupils, and which had resulted in his having been thrown out and snow-balled out of sight. If I had known this before the contract was made I certainly should not have entered into it, but it was too late to recede. Several of the boys and three or four of the girls were as old and bigger than I was [Stiles was twenty years old in 1856], but I relied on my diplomacy to get through all right. When I went to the school house at the time appointed I found quite a collection in attendance. The school house itself was a curiosity to me. There was a rough table in the center of it used for writing on, but not a sign of a desk or seats except that for the latter there were slabs which had been sawed from the outside of logs, through which sticks or legs had been stuck crosswise and these slab benches were lined about the room. I called the school to order and made the attendants a speech, saying that I understood there had been some difficulty between them and their previous teacher, of the merits of which I did not seek to inquire or know; that I had come there for the purpose of doing all in my power to teach them properly and improve them in knowledge; that I should do my best in their behalf and should treat them kindly and properly, and I expected them to treat me in like manner in return. To make a long story short, I had not the least difficulty. We grew to like each other, and during all of my subsequent residence in Ottumwa they were clients whenever they needed a lawyer and my devoted friends always. . . .

About fifty-three years ago the dead body of a woman was found in the river at Ottumwa. There was then no bridge and the crossings had to be made in a ferry boat operated by Edward Davis or John Prosser. The water was at a low stage and in crossing the rapids he discovered the body of a woman whose skirts had caught upon one of the rocks. He immediately made the fact known and her body was brought to an empty room on Main street; the coroner was summoned and an inquest held, at which I was present. The body proved to be that of Laura Harvey, the daughter of a Rockford, Illinois, lawyer. She had eloped with her lover, whose name was Lawrence, and they were traveling westward with a two-horse team.

They had been joined by a man on horseback whose name was McComb. All three of them had the night before the murder stopped at a hotel in Eddyville and had left there the following afternoon. McComb had been seen riding in the wagon with the two others, leading his horse from behind. The murder was a mystery. The woman's skull had been broken with some dull instrument, deeply indented finger marks were on her throat, a shriek had been heard on the road in the night, the two men and the team were gone. The conclusion was that the two men for some reason had murdered the woman and fled with the team. Efforts to arrest them were unavailing.

Several months passed, when one day a hunter crossing one of the deep ravines on the east side of the road between Ottumwa and Agency, discovered a skeleton, to which the clothes and some of the flesh still hung, lying at the bottom. It was determined by a coroner's jury that it was the body of Lawrence, and the conclusion was reached that both he and Laura Harvey had been murdered by McComb; that McComb while riding in the wagon behind them had killed Lawrence with some blunt instrument, and then Laura, who had screamed in the struggle. Lawrence had several hundred dollars with him, and with that and the team McComb made his escape, throwing the body of Laura into the river as he crossed the ford and that of Lawrence into the ravine as he went further on.

Further search was then made for McComb, but without avail. Several years more passed and until the war came near to a close. Some soldiers rendezvousing at Davenport were in a saloon when a man stepped up to the bar to take a drink. One of the soldiers who had known him, recognized him, and immediately notified an officer. McComb was arrested, brought to Ottumwa, placed in jail, brought to trial, found guilty of murder in the first degree and sentenced to be hung. An appeal was taken to the supreme court, which suspended the execution, while he awaited the result in jail.

But notwithstanding this, on the day on which the judge had fixed for the execution at the time of passing sentence, which was July 27, 1864, a large crowd had gathered from different directions, some of them doubtless to witness the execution, which they had not heard had been suspended, but probably the greater portion for the purpose of breaking the jail and hanging McComb despite the suspension. Shortly after noon the mob assembled in front of the jail and loudly clamored for the delivery of the

prisoner to them by the sheriff. I had not returned to my office from dinner, and while at my house received a private message from the sheriff, George A. Derby, telling me of the situation and urging me to come immediately and endeavor to appease the mob. I did so with all haste and found an immense crowd, among which were a number of women who had been deeply stirred by the dastardly murder of the girl, assembled in front of the jail. Judge H. B. Hendershott was addressing them from the steps of the jail. I pushed through the crowd and took my stand by the side of him, and as soon as he had concluded, I commenced to address them myself. It seemed to have a palliating effect and the crowd began to visibly loosen and give way, thereupon Mother Houk, as she was called, mounted the fence which then stood in front of the jail, and in a high-keyed and decidedly revolutionary voice exclaimed: "You men are a set of cowards. This bloody, cruel murderer of a poor girl should be taken out and hung on this day fixed for it, and if you men have not the courage to do it, we women will."

The effect of this on the crowd was as electrical as one of Napoleon's addresses to his soldiers. It set the mob on fire. The crowd not only pressed toward the front door where Hendershott and myself were standing with the sheriff, but those armed with sledge hammers and battering-rams jumped the fence where Mother Houk was standing and rushed for the rear, the crowd following. Almost instantly, I heard them beating down the lofty board enclosure which environed that end and constituted the prisoners' yard. I knew then that further resistance was useless. Breaking their way almost instantly through the enclosure, they battered down the rear wall of the jail and drew out into the street the prisoner amid cries of "hang him, hang him, hang him to the first tree." Under the guidance of the leaders, they started up Court street to find a suitable tree at the top of the hill.

Those living now and that were old enough to note and remember, will recollect that the First Baptist church in the town . . . was located at the corner of Fifth and Court streets, on the north side and fronting the latter, and that at the time of which I am speaking a ravine or deep gully coursed down Court street on that side clear to the jail, being conducted across Fifth street by an underground conduit, and that in front of the Baptist church, which was a small wooden structure, the ravine was so wide and deep that the church was reached by means of a broad platform covering

the ravine and connecting the church with the street. As the crowd with the leaders in charge of the prisoner approached the church and this platform, he requested the leaders to permit him to say a few words from this platform. The request was granted and he addressed the multitude. He said in substance that he was innocent, but that he saw they were bound to hang him and as he was shortly to appear before his maker he wished to be taken to the nearby Catholic church for final preparation at the hands of Father John Kreckel, who had been his spiritual adviser. In this address and in all his bearings he was as perfectly cool and composed as he had been throughout the trial. His desire was granted, the leaders and crowd facing about, came down to the Catholic church, into which he was conducted, and where the final religious rites were performed.

On coming out, and after consultation between the leaders, he was placed in a two horse wagon and the crowd started with him toward the lower end of town. Just this side of Sugar Creek Hill, on the road to Agency and on the left hand side of the road, they entered the wooded enclosure belonging to Michael Roos, subsequently purchased by the writer, and on which the mineral spring became located. Here they stopped under an oak tree with a limb suitable for the purpose in view, and placed one end of the rope around the prisoner's neck and threw the other end over the limb, but the rope was too short for the purpose desired, and while the leaders were devising plans to obviate this difficulty and their efforts having become somewhat relaxed by the dying out of the effects of the liquor which some of them had freely drunk, Fred Arthur, secretary of the Ladd Packing Co., a heroic young Quaker, had arrived on the scene in a buggy, and grasping the situation, with the aid of other willing hands, quickly slipped the noose off the prisoner's neck, threw him into the buggy, seized the lines, applied the whip, and whirled away like lightning back to the jail, where McComb was delivered into the custody of the sheriff and his deputies.

Thus ended the first act of the McComb war, but the leaders were deeply chagrined at being thus foiled, and it was soon given out that another and successful attempt would be made in the future. This event was precipitated by the following circumstance. About a month after the occurrence above described, McComb with another prisoner, effected his escape from the jail; they were hotly pursued and retaken by the sheriff and his aides and placed again in jail. Thereupon a cry arose among the leaders of

the former mob and some others, that the sheriff was not capable of keeping the prisoner; that it was more than likely he would escape, and a new mob was organized to more thoroughly execute the purpose of the former one; and in the latter part of August of the same year it appeared in force and overflowed the town. In the meantime, however, the sheriff and citizens generally had learned of the purpose, and many of them joined with the sheriff in providing steps to prevent the execution, the most effectual of which was the call of the sheriff on the governor of the state for military aid.

The military aid contemplated by the sheriff was the militia company of Ottumwa, of which I was captain. This company had been previously organized in view of the conditions that then threatened the border. Gen. [Sterling] Price [Missouri Confederate] was making efforts to break through our lines and invade Kansas, and portions of Iowa on the Missouri border were constantly threatened by the inroads of guerrillas. The locality and adjacents of Ottumwa had a few southern sympathizers who were ready to join their friends in case of an invasion. Under these conditions, Adjutant General Nathaniel B. Baker wrote me that he had shipped me one hundred stands of arms with ammunition, and asking me if I would not become the custodian of them and take immediate steps to have a company for self protection organized, officers elected, the arms distributed to its members and an armory or place of meeting agreed upon. The company to a great extent was composed of the merchants and other business men of the city, such as Chas. Lawrence, Joseph Chambers, Thomas J. Devin, Geo. Devin and others of like character. I was complimented by being made captain. We studied tactics and drilled two or three times a week, and when the rumor came that a band of guerrillas had invaded Davis county and were proceeding toward Ottumwa, we lay all night with fixed bayonets behind the railroad embankment to repulse the enemy when they should attempt the crossing by the ford or ferry.

I was accordingly summoned by the sheriff and commanded by the governor to bring my company to the aid of the sheriff in resisting any attempt that the premeditate mob might make against his authority. Very early in the morning, therefore, our company was in force fully armed and equipped in front of the old courthouse to assist the sheriff and prevent a raid upon the jail. To that end we stationed pickets at the junction of Court and Washington on the hill to prevent any approach whatever from

that direction. We also stationed a picket line in front on Second street, running from Washington to Market, so that there should be no approach from that direction. My company was reinforced by a later one organized by Captain A. A. Stuart, who had resigned the service and returned from the war, but both companies were placed under my command. By 10 o'clock Court street below Second was a solid mass of clamoring men who had been stopped by the pickets that marked our line, and told that if they advanced beyond they would be fired upon by the military force arraigned [sic] in front of the court house and extended in full array with loaded muskets across the square. Several times the surging crowd menaced the line and threatened to break through.

While thus arrayed, I made a little speech to the "boys" which in substance was, that we had a disagreeable duty to perform but that it was nevertheless a duty that we owed to the state and our citizenship; that we must unflinchingly fire upon the mob in case they broke over and made an attack upon us, and I do not believe that there was a single man who would have been backward in performing this duty if he had been called upon. But after some vain attempts to cross the line the mob began to weaken and the shouts to become less defiant. Presently a flag of truce that had passed the line was seen advancing, borne by one man accompanied by two others. As they came up I in company with Captain Stuart and the sheriff went forward to meet them. The spokesman, whose name was then familiar to people living in his portion of the country but which I prefer not to mention, made this proposal: That if the sheriff would agree to resign the mob would disperse. My answer was: "Here is the sheriff, let him speak for himself." The sheriff expressed his unwillingness to resign, and I told the leader that the parley was ended and that he had better advise the mob to disperse for if they attempted to press upon us we should surely fire upon them. The truce bearers returned to the crowd uttering bitter curses and threats against us. In a few minutes after their return the crowd began to disperse and in a few minutes more it had disappeared altogether.

These reflections have often occurred to me: If the mob had prevailed and carried out its purpose the community and the state would have been disgraced, and its real standard of morality greatly lowered. On the other hand if we had been forced to fire upon the mob and killed some of the persons composing it, it would have been an unpleasant place for some of

us, and especially myself to have lived in thereafter. All's well that ends well.

As I have never seen an account of this affair from beginning to end by an eyewitness, or a correct account of it, I have thought it well to thus give this narration; nor has any correct account of McComb's execution been given so far as I have ever seen. It was stated that he made quite a long speech on the scaffold. Such was not the case; it was very brief. I was one of the jurors summoned under the law as it then existed to witness the execution. . . .

McComb's speech on the scaffold . . . made an impression so deep upon me that time has not effaced it. He was as calm and composed as a man could be, and met his death without in the least flinching. His speech was very brief and was in substance this: "I am innocent of the crime of which I have been convicted and you are the witnesses to the execution of an innocent man. In these last words I desire to impress upon you the importance of abolishing capital punishment. I hope you will never see another execution, for if the death penalty were not inflicted, the condemned innocent man might finally be shown to be so by the discovery of facts that would establish it and which he might assist in bringing to light." Thanking the sheriff and his custodians for their kindness and then uttering a prayer after Father Kreckel, who attended him, the black cap was drawn over his face, the rope adjusted, and trap sprung, and his body dangled in the air. The closing and principal part of the speech impressed me. If he were guilty why should he make a speech of that kind? If he were innocent he might well do so. The testimony was purely circumstantial, local prejudice was strong against him — it is possible he may have been innocent after all. . . .

When I came to Ottumwa, nearly fifty-six years ago, it was, as I have already indicated, merely a village; without figures I should say it had perhaps 700 or 800 people. In the following year, 1857, it had grown to probably 900 or 1,000 people. The city up to that time had not been organized, but in the spring of 1857 it was. Ottumwa became an incorporated city with a mayor and common counsel. I took part in its organization and in the election of our first mayor, Duane F. Gaylord. It had been organized as a town before that. . . .

The newspapers when I went to Ottumwa were the *Ottumwa Courier* and the *Democratic Statesman*. Green D. R. Boyd was the able editor of

the *Statesman*. . . . The *Courier* was then a weekly; it had no daily, nor did it have until 1864, when one was commenced under its editor, James W. Norris. . . . The founders of the *Courier* were Richard H. Warden and Joseph H. D. Street, who established it in 1848. At that time it was the most western newspaper in the United States. I knew both of the gentlemen named intimately; they were excellent men. . . .

The editor of the *Ottumwa Courier* when I went there was James W. Norris, who had succeeded Warden and Street. He was a small, nervous, active, but rather timid man; he was, however, an accomplished one, and one of the most finished editorial writers in the state. He had been well educated, traveled much, was an altogether delightful man. He was delicately organized, somewhat over-sensitive, and suffered rather keenly what ever of misfortune he had to bear. I shall always remember him with real affection.

With the *Courier's* subsequent editors, up to the time I left Ottumwa, nearly twenty-seven years ago, Major A. H. Hamilton and Gen. John M. Hedrick, I was also intimately acquainted. They were both virile writers and virile men in every respect. General Hedrick was one of the most original characters I have ever known and one of the most interesting ones. Looking back over the list of my companions I believe, taken all in all, General Hedrick was the most charming one. His humor, his originality, his uniqueness of expression, were perennial. He was a brave and heroic officer [during the Civil War], was in many fierce battles, dreadfully wounded, breveted Brigadier General for gallantry. Major Hamilton had also served his country with efficiency and valor; was taken prisoner, suffered the hardships of severe confinement, escaped with two comrades and wandered through fields and forests enduring such hardships of hunger and exposure that his two comrades eventually died from the effects thereof. He was a lawyer by education, and several years of practice demonstrated that he was one of no mean ability, and gave promise that had he adhered to his original profession he would have attained to the first rank therein; but he went to that of journalism and achieved a high rank as a strong and pungent writer. . . .

I have spoken of the doctors of the early days and it would be hardly fair to omit saying something of the lawyers of that period. The judge I found upon the bench was H. B. Hendershott. God bless his memory! I doubt if there ever was a better nisi pruis judge. . . . Among the resident

lawyers were Samuel W. Summers, Homer D. Ives, A. H. Hamilton, Morris J. Williams, John A. Johnston, Thomas Bigham, A. W. Gaston, J. W. Dixon, Homer Thrall and John D. Devin of this county. George May, distinguished for his brilliancy and his dissipation, had just gone, and A. A. Stuart, a bright Brown university graduate, afterward a captain in the Seventeenth Iowa Infantry, and author of the "Iowa Colonels and Regiments," had not yet arrived. . . .

Major Hamilton and Morris J. Williams were partners. Mr. Williams was purely a lawyer and a good lawyer. If there ever was a man who made the cause of his client his own, it was he. His clients were always veritable paragons of justice and right and their witnesses the personal embodiments of truth. Those belonging to the other side were very emphatically placed on a lower seat. That was one of his leading characteristics. Another was his caustic treatment of cases and his severity in cross-examinations. He put a damaging witness on the rack and turned the thumb-screw with skillfulness; and in his summing up to the jury, indulged in an irritating sarcasm that penetrated the weakness of his adversary's argument like some dissolving acid. He was naturally inert, but once entered upon a trial, he was able to effectively invoke the powers I have alluded to.

He was a forcible speaker, but had little taste for, and was a poor hand at politics. Though he was elected and served four years as judge of this judicial district, this was a compliment to his ability, rather than to any political craft he possessed. He was abstemious to a fault. The choicest wines of the gods could not tempt him. He was plain in taste, dress, and manners. He came from Indiana, and bore to some extent the air of its woods. But the atmosphere of those woods must have been infused with that of the adjacent state of Kentucky, for he not only loved fine horses, but he bred them and put their mettle to the test in races. . . .

Judge Joseph C. Knapp was, when fully aroused in an important case, an advocate of great power. He was really a great man, and had his lot been cast in a large city, rather than a country town, he would probably have attained a national reputation. He needed the stimulus of great demands and the execution of great purposes. He did not have these, and lapsed into the inertia of his surroundings. He had a great contempt for little things, and I think became discontented with his environment. But it was too late in life to change; and he lingered and died in Keosauqua. He was leonine in appearance and character, but it took something more than the

ordinary to arouse him; when once aroused, he was a veritable Jupiter Tonans, and made everything around him tremble. I heard him when thus waxed, make the closing argument in the slander case of Bizer against Warner, fifty-four years ago, and it made my youthful blood tingle. . . .

And finally, there was Henry Clay Dean, who occasionally appeared as attorney for the defendant in capital cases. I remember one distinctly — that of the state against Progden for murder. After Mr. Dean had closed the argument, and the judge had given his instructions to the jury, Mr. Dean placed himself, or at least was stationed in the aisle through which the jury must pass to their room, and as they did so, he said to me, in tones loud enough for the jury to hear, "That settles it; under those instructions the jury are bound to acquit."

He was easily the finest natural orator I have ever heard; nor was his oratory pyrotechnic or vapid. He was deeply learned, and drew his inspiration from the richest sources of history and the classics. I had an excellent opportunity to know, for as a youthful orator, I stumped the state with him for Douglas in 1860; and although I changed my politics when the war broke out, our intimate friendship remained to the end. A more delightful companion there could not well be. He had been a preacher and lawyer. He had been highly celebrated for his eloquence in both lines. He was once chaplain of the United States senate, and Henry Clay pronounced his opening prayer the most eloquent that had ever been uttered there. He was eccentric in the extreme, and by sheer force of his eloquence and extraordinary personality carried everything before him. For these reasons he was frequently employed in the character of cases referred to. . . .

The witticism of the bar was well exemplified in Mast Jones of Davis county, and its eccentricities by Enoch Eastman and Judge Crookham of Mahaska county. The former, Mr. Eastman, removed soon after that time to Hardin county and died at Eldora, if I mistake not. Mast was a natural born humorist. He would have made a first class comedian; one that would have improved the original playwright by improvising between the lines. He had the peculiar faculty of making others laugh without smiling himself. It was difficult to tell when he was serious. Here is an illustrative incident. It was while he was the prosecuting attorney for this district. I was present. The case was the prosecution of the defendant for selling liquor; the defense, that it was not liquor but ginger ale and sold as such.

The witness swore that that was what he called for. Then the fun began. He was plied with all sorts of questions in a most amusingly quizzical manner; as to how it looked; how it smelled; how it tasted; how much he poured out; how many times he drank; what was the interval between each drink; why was he drinking ginger ale so many times; how he felt after the first drink; after the second; the third; the fourth; the fifth; and to describe his feeling minutely. In summing up, Mast said to the jury in his quiet inimitable way, "Gentlemen, you might think from my manner of examining the witness that I know a good deal about drink, and the effect thereof; but (raising his voice and vigorously extending his arm) the fact nevertheless is, that I never drank a gallon of liquor in my whole life." Then, after a pause, and lowering his voice, "at one time, gentlemen."

Here is another. You may have heard it as a story, but it is a real incident, was well known at the time, and is perfectly authentic. Mast had a case before a justice of the peace out in the country. He was for the defendant, while a wiseacre of a schoolmaster who had picked up a few Latin words appeared for the plaintiff. The facts were all in his favor, and in summing up the different groups, in his argument, at the end of each peroration he would exclaim with a gusto, "and that is the summum bonum of the matter and the case must go to the plaintiff." Mast had really no defense, but his ready wit and keen sense of the ridiculous supplied him with one. So when he came to reply, he said to the justice, "I have a great regard for that old law of summum bonum, for its antiquity. It was an old English law and served well its day and generation in ancient times. But the people finally outgrew and became dissatisfied with it; and it was one of the laws England tried to force upon the colonies. But," said Mast, raising his voice and arm, "our forefathers fought and spilt their blood in the revolution to overthrow that law, and they did overthrow it."

As to Enoch Eastman, before alluded to, and whose name is so closely interwoven with Iowa history as to make it as familiar as a household word, a more original character and a more perfect specimen of a real old-fashioned, down east, backwoods, nasal talking Yankee could not well be imagined. Very tall, slim, bony, gaunt, longnecked, and loose jointed, he always reminded me of Ichabod Crane, the Yankee schoolmaster in Irving's "Legend of Sleepy Hollow." In facial expression his features were long and pointed, and deeply pitted by small pox; but this, it was thought, was rather an improvement to his appearance than otherwise. He was reared in

the mountains of New Hampshire and worked in a sawmill and on the farm of his father until he was nearly of age. He used to relate that he worked one season for a farmer seven months at \$10 a month and at the end handed his father \$67 of his earnings. This was characteristic of the man. Notwithstanding his early disadvantages, he acquired an academic education; and from the time he came to Iowa, 1844, until his death, he was justly regarded as one of the best equipped lawyers in the state. He was at one time your lieutenant governor [1864-1866, during the first term of Governor William M. Stone]. But he never could, and probably never desired, to throw off his Yankee dialect or Yankee tone imbibed among the hills of his native state. He always referred to the joint sessions of the house and senate as the "jint" session, and persisted in calling the district court the "deestrick" court. He could look as grave as a Presbyterian deacon and sing psalms as solemnly as one of Cromwell's soldiers. At the same time he had a keen sense of the ridiculous and was as cunning as a fox. On one occasion he appeared before a young judge, and to enforce a point he desired to make, Enoch brought with him, and attempted to read Blackstone to the court, whereupon the young judge, after moving about uneasily in his seat for a while said: "Mr. Eastman, I've read Blackstone." "Oh, hev ye," replied Enoch, looking at the judge over the top of his spectacles with an air of surprise.

But there was a deeper and more sublime vein in his nature. As the erection of the Washington monument was approaching its completion, each state was called upon to contribute an appropriate motto to be inscribed on its face. Enoch composed and presented the following for his state: "Iowa: the affections of her people, like the rivers of her borders, flow to an inseparable union." What could be more chaste and elegant. It was adopted and inscribed along with the mottoes of the other states, and is universally conceded to be the rarest gem of them all. It is sufficient to render his name as enduring as Iowa itself. . . .

But I must bring these reminiscences to an end. I would like to say a few words more of the lawyers who were here when I came; of Col. Samuel W. Summers, with whom I finished my studies and who deserved honorable mention; of A. W. Gaston, Thomas Bigham, Charles Fulton, A. A. Stuart, Edmund L. Joy, Edward L. Burton, my old partner whom I loved while living, and whose memory I affectionately cherish. In many respects he was one of the greatest lawyers I have ever seen; of my brother-

in-law, J. W. Dixon, in many respects one of the ablest men I have known. Though fixed in his opinions and determined in character, he was nevertheless a natural diplomat of the first order, and had the opportunity presented itself he would have distinguished himself by his diplomatic skill in any court of Europe, and been able to successfully untangle, if the subject were capable of it, the most difficult problems of international affairs; of John A. Johnston; of Judge J. C. Hall, a great lawyer and a great man; of his learned and accomplished son, Ben J. Hall, whose death was like an untimely frost; of Samuel F. Miller, the greatest constitutional lawyer — always excepting John Marshall — we have ever had; of Charles Negus, with a head like Webster and a front like Jove; of Christian W. Slagle, that most amiable and lovable of lawyers and men; of the witty and brilliant Charles Phelps (a brother of President Cleveland's minister to England) — of whom I heard Judge Hall once say, that he was "not only a fine lawyer, but a good fellow, who took his toddy regular and voted the democratic ticket occasionally," and the many others whose names I have mentioned, but want of time forbids. Their sketches, with those of other lawyers and public men who have passed away will be reserved for and embraced in the work which I undertook at the request of the judges of the supreme court, and for which I commenced to gather material in 1881, but which I have never found time to write up until after my retirement from the practice in 1910. For the last year I have been consecutively engaged in preparing my manuscript for the publisher which will be ready for the printer before the close of the year.

I hope I may be pardoned for the length of these remarks about my professional brethren. I trust that what I have said of them may not be likened to what Sidney Smith said of the English aristocracy — that they resembled potatoes in the field, because the best part of them was under ground.

In conclusion I cannot refrain from making brief mention of a few persons who were here when I came that I have not mentioned, whose names I am now able to recall. Among them are Paul C. Jeffries and his delightful old wife, who were both aged people, he the first postmaster of Ottumwa, and grandfather of your police judge, L. C. Hendershott. They were fine specimens of old-fashioned, hospitable, southern gentlefolk; Stephen Osborn, who had also been postmaster, and Thomas J. Holmes, who was the postmaster when I came; George Gillaspie, a giant in stature and natural ability; Joseph Leighton, the justice of the peace before whom

I tried my first case — one of the first settlers of Compentine township, who removed to Ottumwa; a useful citizen and a generous, noble man. He was the father of Alvin C. Leighton. . . . I should like to speak of the ministers who were here when I came — of B. A. Spaulding who was one of the Andover band who came from New England to preach in the wilderness. He was the pastor of the Congregational church and a splendid and accomplished man, and his wife, who was a sister of J. W. Norris, one of the loveliest of women; of J. M. McElroy, the pastor and father emeritus of the Presbyterian church, who was the friend of everybody and who characterized his calling by a long and beneficent life; of S. H. Worcester, pastor of the Baptist church, who afterwards retired from the ministry to engage in business and finally removed to and died in Des Moines; of the venerable Father Robinson of the Methodist church, of Father John Kreckel of the Catholic church. . . .

[I also have memories] of Joseph Hayne, who held and honored many county offices; of good and good-natured Silas Osborn, the old-fashioned highly respected and worthy county judge; of Newton C. Hill, of North Carolina Quaker stock and as good and kindly a man as ever lived . . .; of Uriah H. Biggs, one of the early surveyors and a man of learning; of Geo. D. Hackworth, another of the early surveyors and worthy men — father of James T. Hackworth; of John D. Baker, who was also one of the early surveyors . . .; of Paris Caldwell, kindly, high minded, and faithful citizen, who was on the ground and drove his claim stakes in the early morning of the day after the Indians left; of his brother Joseph Caldwell, a Methodist church leader who could pray with all the fervency and fight with all the bravery of Oliver Cromwell . . .; and Joseph Flint, doctor, preacher and politician combined, who by his shrewdness and sagacity allied with old-fashioned, homely manners and great popularity, was able at any time to overthrow the best laid schemes of democratic political leaders; he was probate judge and represented the county in both the house and senate.

Of course these are but a small portion of influential residents that I recollect as being there when I went to the county. After three or four years residence I think I knew every permanent resident of the county, and I simply give those whose names after this lapse of years occur to me.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

The Society added 195 new members during the months of July, August, and September. The following became Life Members during that period: E. Lee Huston, Columbus Junction; Mrs. Arthur Sanford, Sioux City; Robert J. Howard, Orlando, Florida; Wilson L. Abel, Mason City; Frank F. Gutnecht, Hudson; George A. Ojemann, Iowa City; Mrs. Ellen Robinson, Cedar Rapids; and Charles Swisher, Burlington.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

July 9	Addressed University of Iowa Alumni Association in Washington, D. C.
July 24	Addressed Luther College Summer Session Convocation.
July 24	Attended Governor's Day at Clear Lake.
August 24	Attended "All Iowa Day" at Lake Okoboji and spoke to legislators on restoration plans for the Gardner Log Cabin at Arnolds Park.
August 25	Attended centennial of the granting of the charter of incorporation to the Amana Colonies in Middle Amana.
August 27	Set up doll display representing the various foreign groups in Iowa at State Fair in Des Moines.
September 8	Served on panel called by Governor Herschel Loveless on Iowa Conservation.
September 9	Addressed state meeting of Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs on Iowa nationalities, and served as master of ceremonies at their nationality style show.
September 10	Collected Iowa historical materials at Charles C. Tompkins' home in Griswold and visited Fred B. DeWitt Museum.
September 12-13	Conferred with Old Settlers at Arnolds Park on plans for the Gardner Log Cabin.

Iowa Historical Activities

The Butler County Historical Society has purchased a rural schoolhouse

and will move it to the corner of the courthouse grounds at Allison. Members of the Society will use the building to house antiques and relics of Butler County.

The town of Bellevue has been named the principal beneficiary of the estate of Joe A. Young. His will directed that a museum should be established in his name and that of his wife, to be called "The Joe A. and Grace Young Antique Institute, Historical Society, and Museum." His home in Bellevue is to become the museum, and the many antiques in that home will form the basis of the museum. The value of the estate willed to the town of Bellevue is in excess of \$60,000.

At the annual meeting of the Wayne County Historical Society, the following officers were elected: Amy Robertson, president; Mrs. Mildred Fry, vice-president; Altha E. Green, secretary; Harry Hibbs, treasurer; LeRoy E. Grimes, curator. The directors of the Society are Warren Burton, Glen Greenlee, Miss Ortha Green, Mrs. Beulah McIntyre, and Mrs. Marjean Poston. The membership of the Society numbers 754, a 42 per cent gain over last year.

A Wapello County Historical Society has been organized, with Charles Ayres as president. Other officers are: Joe W. Griffin, vice-president; Mrs. Mabel Hollenbeck, secretary; and Baxter Smith, treasurer. The board of directors is made up of James C. Taylor, Carl Obermann, Robert Heinje, W. Sinclair Venables, and Mrs. Allen Sharp. Eventually, the Society hopes to obtain a suitable building for a museum in Ottumwa.

The Mills County Historical Museum was dedicated on August 29. The ceremony included entertainment by a group of Pottawattamie Indians from Mayetta, Kansas, and an address by Albert Wabaunsee, principal of schools at Fort Thompson, South Dakota, who is a descendant of Chief Waubonsie of the Pottawattamies. The museum was presented to the Society by the Mintle family.

A Delaware County Historical Society has been organized, with the following officers: Mrs. W. J. Maxfield, president; Homer Platt, vice-president; and Mrs. Don Nagel, secretary-treasurer. The directors are Stanley Klaus, Lance Candee, Glenn Robinson, and Mrs. Don Malven.

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